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SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

FORMS OF POPULATION MOVEMENT BY HOWARD BECKER
COOLEY, A GREAT TEACHER BY READ BAIN
THE CONCEPT "CULTURE CONFLICT" BY MAURICE T. PRICE
CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY ARNOŠT
BLÁHA

A KARL MARX FOR HILL BILLIES BY RUPERT B. VANCE
THE VOCATIONAL STABILITY OF CONNECTICUT FARMERS BY
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MENTAL FACTORS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR JU-
VENILE COURT CONSIDERATION BY HARRY W. CRANE
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION THROUGH CITIZENS ASSOCIA-
TIONS BY D. W. WILLARD

ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES IN THE HOME BY AMY HEWES
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SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1930

FORMS OF POPULATION MOVEMENT: PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF MENTAL MOBILITY

HOWARD BECKER

University of Pennsylvania

Life is movement, and consequently history is movement, for history is the sum and result of the phenomena of life. The history of mankind is composed of a series of movements and counter-movements, just as is the history of plants and animals.

—RATZEL

PART I. INTRODUCTION AND CATEGORIES I TO VII

OF RECENT years a great deal of attention has been devoted to the sociological aspects of population movement. Teggart's *Theory of History and Processes of History*, Bücher's *Industrial Evolution*, Sombart's *Quintessence of Capitalism*, Demolins' *How the Route Creates the Social Type*, Sorokin's *Social Mobility*, and the numerous studies by Park, Burgess, Mackenzie, and others influenced by them are examples of this interest in the relation of population movement to other social phenomena.

The writer is at present following a similar interest, the object being to determine the relation, if any, between the various forms of population movement and certain aspects of social change which may be termed *mental mobility*. For the purposes of this article, population movement may be defined simply as change of geographical location or of vicinal posi-

tion (*Lage*) by any number of human beings. Mental mobility cannot be so briefly defined, but some idea of the meaning of the term may be given by saying that it is a correlate of social change, and that it involves, among other things, mental mutability or lability, release of inhibitions and energies, crisis (as defined by Thomas), rationalism, and attitudinal plasticity. This is not a definition at all, properly speaking, but will suffice at this point, inasmuch as the present article merely contains "prolegomena to a study of mental mobility"—from this point on population movement is the sole subject of discussion.

After considerable preliminary study, the writer has concluded that population movement is not the simple thing it appears to be, and that it cannot be dealt with by ecological¹ or demographic methods alone if conclusions of any sociological importance or validity are to be arrived at. On the positive side, he has concluded that the method of culture case study, the study of the total situation, is

¹ The leading human ecologists have never regarded their approach as affording anything more than *one* substratum for sociological generalization. Their more uncritical followers, however, have often made greater claims.

the only one that does not lead to single-factor fallacies and erroneous generalizations.

If this is true, it follows that most if not all of the current theorizing about "territorial mobility," "horizontal mobility," and similar topics has not been based upon methods that can lead to valid conclusions, for up to date no culture case studies bearing upon the specifically sociological aspects of the problem have been made. What has sometimes been done has been to select illustrations, numerical, literary, and otherwise, and with the aid and comfort to *a priori* dogmas thus derived, to write about the sociological correlates of population movement in all times, places, and cultures with more assurance than unselected evidence would warrant.

This article is an implicit and explicit criticism of all theorizing about the sociological aspects of population movement which is not based upon culture case study, and intensive study at that. It was not designed as such a criticism when the investigation was first undertaken, but was intended simply as a preliminary survey of the field; the object was to observe, with as complete detachment from speculation and theory as possible, a wide range of population movements and their attendant phenomena. *The article still primarily serves this purpose of observation*, but in addition it carries implications and explicit formulations of the conclusion to which such observation guided the writer, namely, that the intensive study of a series of selected culture cases will tell us far more *that is valid* about the sociological aspects of population movement than all the comparison of fragments wrenched from their total setting that has heretofore passed muster.

But enough of whys and wherefores;

the evidence is more important. Let us begin.

The multifarious varieties of population movement that have change in geographical location (change in vicinal position will not be extensively considered here) as their common characteristic have been subsumed under a host of concepts scattered through the voluminous literature of the subject. Some of the concepts or terms are: migration, the historical movement, transplantation, permeation, dispersion, invasion, conquest, colonization, immigration, emigration, infiltration, succession, proximmigration (*Nabe-wanderung*), ultimigration (*Fernwanderung*), abmigration (*Abwanderung*), admigration (*Zuwanderung*), expansion, purposeful diffusion, diffusion, expulsion, deportation, exile, absorption, intrusion, encroachment, shifting, nomadism, wandering, roving, roaming, and so on and on.

Manifestly it will not do to begin by analyzing such concepts, even if we could exhaust the list, for few writers use them alike. The better course, for our purposes, would seem to be to group the various forms of movement (the adjective "population" will be dropped for brevity's sake) under several categories, commencing with simple numerical, organizational, spatial, geographical, and temporal rubrics, but without attempting to make our list of categories exhaustive. This method of systematic observation or preliminary analysis artificially isolates factors and separates them from the total grouping or configuration in which they have full significance, to be sure, but the method seems desirable for that very reason, inasmuch as the resulting juxtaposition of widely differing forms of movement helps us to see the incongruities often brought about by such juxtaposition as well as the possible significance

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of certain types. Further, it tends to break up loosely-used and almost meaningless terms like "invasion," "colonization," and "emigration" into less refractory units. Again, it helps to free thought from the dominance of traditional interpretation—with which, to be sure, one must be familiar but to which one should not be wedded.

I

A logical first step in analyzing any given movement would seemingly be to determine whether it is carried on by monads (single human beings, von Wiese's *Einzelmenschen*) or by plurality patterns. Under the former we could class the wanderings of the Ionian sophists; the *peregrinati mercatores* of the Middle Ages;² the isolated sectarians and heretics of the pre-Reformation period ("Sturmgeister der Aufklärung");³ the scholars of the Italian *rinascimento*;⁴ the *fabrenden Leute*, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars of whom Freytag, Hampe, Bolte, Ribton-Turner, and Aydelotte have written;⁵ the vagabond students who were so powerful in the

Humanistic heresy;⁶ the Hebrew prophets of both the nomadic and post-Exilic varieties;⁷ many Jews after the Diaspora and before the modern assimilation tendency;⁸ political refugees, such as Bakunin, Kropotkin, Lenin, Trotzky, Arnold, De Valera, and Heine; Hellenized Orientals of the Stoa;⁹ many of the Huguenots;¹⁰ the Scots of East Prussia;¹¹ pilgrims to the shrines at Malden, Rome, Mecca, Jerusalem, Trêves, St. Anne de Beaupré, Loretto, Lourdes;¹² the "young gentlemen" who made the Grand Tour; hobos, bums, and beggars of all sorts;¹³ cosmopolites who shift from the Lido to Palm Beach to Banff; "tourist third class" travellers; athletes and sportsmen; big game hunters; "drummers" and travelling salesmen; religious refugees such as those who fled before the Counter-Reformation in France,¹⁴ Austria,¹⁵ and elsewhere, and so on indefinitely.

Beggars and Begging (London: Chapman and Hall, 1887), *passim*; Frank Aydelotte, *Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds*, Vol. I of Oxford Historical and Literary Studies (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) *passim*.

² J. Burckhardt, *The Culture of the Renaissance in Italy*, Middlemore trans., (8th. Eng. ed.; London: Alden, 1921) pp. 210-212.

³ Max Weber, *Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1923) III, 281-350.

⁴ W. W. Kaplun-Kogan, *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden* (Cologne: 1911), pp. 21-22.

⁵ A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa* (Berlin: 1892), p. 19.

⁶ Sombart, *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, Epstein transl., (London: Unwin, 1915), pp. 292-300.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Sombart, *Luxus u. Kapitalismus* (Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1913) p. 31; D. Lachenmann, "Wallfahrt und Wallfahrtsorte," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (Tübingen, 1913), Vol. V.

⁹ Nels Anderson, *The Hobo*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), *passim*; Hanna Meuter, *Die Heimlosigkeit* (Jena, Fischer, 1925), *passim*.

¹⁰ F. Scheichl, *Glaubensflüchtlinge aus Spanien mit den Niederlanden, Italien u. Frankreich seit 1500*, (1894) *passim*.

¹¹ H. von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, (Paul trans., 1915-1919), I, 1.

² Werner Sombart, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, I, viii, "Die Wiedergeburt der Tauschwirtschaft," (Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1924); A. Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels u. Verkehrs* (1900), I, 69, footnote 1.

³ Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Sozialleben der christlichen Kirchen u. Gruppen*, chap. iii, sec. 9, "Das absolute Gottes-u. Naturrecht u. die Sekten," (Tübingen, Mohr, 1923), esp. pp. 418-22.

H. Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Hertz, 1875/77 2 vols.), II, 52, 241.

⁴ F. Mauthner, *Geschichte der Atheismus im Abendlande* (Stuttgart u. Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1924), I, 647.

⁵ G. Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* I, xiii, "Die fahrende Leute," (Leipzig, Schlüter, 1927), esp. pp. 300-304; Th. Hampe, *Die fahrenden Leute* (Jena: Diedrichs, 1924) *passim*; Johannes Bolte, "Fahrende Leute in der Literatur des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts," *Sitzungsber. d. Preussische Akad. d. Wissensch. Philos.—Hist. Kl.* (31), 1928, 625-55; C. J. Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and*

These "singular" or monadic movements merge imperceptibly into the movements of plurality patterns comprising two or more persons. A transitional stage between the movements of monads and pluralities may be found in the phenomenon of the Japanese "picture bride." She moves as a monad, to be sure, but her behavior is oriented with reference to the sexual-relation plurality pattern she is about to enter. In fact, we frequently find that small groups have sex, in one or another of its aspects, as the integrating factor. Consequently we may include a classification for these minute plurality patterns, which we shall call sexual-relation groups; e.g., the family in all its varieties, "wolf" and "punk" (homosexual hobo group),¹⁶ Lesbian unions, German Youth Movement wanderers of the type discussed by Blüher,¹⁷ transitory heterosexual groups like Shelley and the Godwin sisters or Byron and his numerous mistresses,¹⁸ "honeymooners," wandering free lovers like Aucassin and Nicolette, etc. Practically all the forms of movement classified as singular in the preceding paragraph may and indeed usually do involve more than one person, however, and the sexual-relationship group classification does not take in all of them by any means: the sophists journeyed with their neophytes,¹⁹ the traveling scholar sometimes had his *famulus*, Chaucer's account certainly shows no trace of strictly "singular" pilgrimages, and political refugees, like the famed David Balfour and Alan Breck, often travel in groups of twos and threes. A sharp line cannot be drawn.

¹⁶ Nels Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁷ Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (Jena: Diederichs), *passim*.

¹⁸ André Maurois, *Ariel: the Life of Shelley*, D'Arcy trans. (New York: Appleton, 1925), chaps. xix, xxiii, xxix.

¹⁹ M. Schanz, *Die Sophisten*, (1867), p. 94.

When we come to larger groups, however, the problem becomes simpler, for we can make a rough distinction between heterogeneity of interest and homogeneity of interest. When we find a moving human group whose members have a joint (not a common) interest, when there is a joint goal and interaction in joint pursuit of the goal, we have passed the stage of heterogeneity of interest, of singular movement *per se*. We can class as relatively homogeneous interest-group movements the settling of North Ireland by the Scots;²⁰ the settlement of Jamestown, Plymouth, and all the other early American colonies; the flight of the Jews of Central Europe into Galicia and Poland during the persecutions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;²¹ the *Drang nach Osten* of the Teutonic knights and their followers between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries;²² the Mormon flight from Nauvoo to Deseret;²³ the *trek* of the Boers;²⁴ the First and Second Crusades;²⁵ the great German pilgrimage of 1064-1065 A.D.;²⁶ the settlement of Palestine by the Zionists;²⁷ the seemingly eternal shifting of the Gypsies;²⁸ the settlement

²⁰ M. J. Bonn, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland* (Berlin: 1906) II, iv.

²¹ W. W. Kaplun-Kogan, *loc. cit.*

²² Freytag, *op. cit.*, chap. v, "Besiedelung des Ostens."

²³ R. M. Werner, *Brigham Young*, (New York: 1925).

²⁴ F. R. Cana, *South Africa from the Great Trek to Union*, *passim*.

²⁵ H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: Mittler, 1883), pp. 1-32.

²⁶ L. J. Paetow, editor, *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro, etc.*, (New York: Crofts, 1928) pp. 3-43.

²⁷ N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism* (1919), II, *passim*.

²⁸ C. G. Leland, *The English Gypsies and Their Language*, (London: Trübner, 1874), *passim*; Konrad Ber- covici, *The Story of the Gypsies*, (New York: Cosmo- politan, 1927), *passim*.

of Manchuria by the Japanese;²⁹ the colonization of portions of southern Brazil by German villages from the Hunsrück and other parts of the left bank of the Rhine;³⁰ the settlement of Iceland in the ninth century by petty Norse chieftains escaping from the growing power of King Harold the Fairhaired;³¹ *habitant* villages which move from Quebec to Massachusetts or Rhode Island;³² some secondary land nomadism; and nearly all sea nomadism, such as the Norman conquest of Sicily.³³ Under heterogeneous interest-group movements might be subsumed the rush to the Florida real-estate boom, the stampedes to Dawson, Nome, the Rand, Goldfield, Tonopah, Leadville, Virginia City, and the Australian gold fields, the mad race when Oklahoma was thrown open to homesteaders, subway crushes, etc. Such herd phenomena as those just listed are extremely difficult to distinguish from individual movements in many cases. The list of interest-group movements might be much further extended, but would serve no useful purpose here.

Another type now claims our attention; it is a variety of large homogeneous interest-group movement, but certain added factors justify our placing it in a separate category. The Achaean and Dorian invasions of the Greek peninsulas, the *Völkerwanderung*, and the invasion of

the Promised Land by the Hebrews,³⁴ were carried on by what we may term total groups. That is, the whole or a large majority of a tribe, nation, or ethnic unit quit its ancient seats *en masse* and moved into some other region. With reference to this total-group movement Bryce says: "Such migrations seldom occur except in the case of nomad peoples who are little attached to any particular piece of soil, but we may almost class among the nomads tribes who, like our own remote Teutonic ancestors, although they cultivate the soil, put no capital into it in the way of permanent improvements, and build no dwellings of brick or stone."³⁵ Other examples of such movements are those of "the Hippemolgi, justest of mankind," as Homer speaks of the Scythians,³⁶ the seasonal shiftings of the Khirgiz and other dwellers in Central Asia,³⁷ the movements of the Vlachs of the Balkans,³⁸ the invasions of Asia Minor and Eastern Europe by the Seljuk Turks under Alp Arslan and his successors,³⁹ the perpetual incursions of "Turan" into "Iran,"⁴⁰ the shiftings of the pastoral peoples in the Lake Region of Africa,⁴¹ the seasonal "flight of the Kalmucks" and the horse-conditioned

²⁹ Weber, *op. cit.*, esp. Part I, "Die israelitische Eidgenossenschaft u. Jahwe."

³⁰ Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

³¹ Homer, as quoted in Strabo, *The Geography*, Bk. VII, iii, sec. 7.

³² I. Bowman, *The New World*, (New York: World Book Co., 1921), p. 424.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 282; A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans* (New York: Dutton, 1913); E. de Martonne, *La Valachie*, (1902).

³⁴ *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed.; art. "Seljuks."

³⁵ Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, trans. from the second German edition by A. J. Butler (London: Macmillan, 1896), III, 174-5; *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th. ed., art. "Persia."

³⁶ John Roscoe, *Immigrants and Their Influence in the Lake Region of Central Africa* (Cambridge: University Press, 1924) pp. 13-16.

²⁹ L. H. Clyde, *International Rivalries in Manchuria, 1689-1922* (London: 1926), chap. xxi.

³⁰ Msgr. Dr. Berthmann, "Die Deutschen in Brasilien," in *Das Auswandererproblem*, Jahrbuch des Caritasverbandes (Freiburg: 1912), III Heft, pp. 4, 5.

³¹ James Bryce, "The Migrations of the Races of Men Considered Historically," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (1893), p. 572.

³² R. C. Dexter, *The Habitant Transplanted*, unpublished dissertation, Clark University, 1925.

³³ Ratzel, *Politische Geographie* (1903 ed.; Munich and Berlin: Oldenbourg), p. 398.

transferences of the Huns, Hiung-nu, Tartars, Tunguses, Ouigours, Kitans, Mongols, Magyars, and Manchus.⁴² (The frequent correlation of primary or pastoral nomadism with total-group movement may be noted in passing; it is easy to see how Ibn Khaldūn and his successors were led to their theories.)

After thus classifying movement in terms of the quantitative and organizational groupings of the human beings concerned, it is evident that widely divergent types of movement are placed in the same categories, a fact already commented upon. An examination of unilateral and even simple multilateral systems of classification like those of Mason,⁴³ Le Conte,⁴⁴ Hertz,⁴⁵ Bryce,⁴⁶ Fairchild,⁴⁷ Wallis,⁴⁸ Semple,⁴⁹ Wissler,⁵⁰ Tönnies,⁵¹ Huntington,⁵² Mason,⁵³ and Bücher⁵⁴ makes quite evident the fact that no one set of criteria, nor even complete sets,

will suffice if the term "movement" is to have any meaning whatever in specific cases of social change. Any usable system of rubrics for classification must be highly complex.

II

A second step in our preliminary analysis might well be classification of moving groups on the basis of the age levels of the individuals concerned. When the Shielders cross the tracks into the territory of their enemies, the Dukies,⁵⁵ when in 1212 A.D. the tide of the Children's Crusade sweeps across Central Europe toward the Mediterranean embarkation points,⁵⁶ when the "wild boys" of post-revolutionary years in Russia conduct organized looting expeditions far from their city dens,⁵⁷ when a group of American Boy Scouts sail for the great Jamboree in England, or when in the post-war years apparently everyone in Germany joins one of the sixty-odd Youth Movement organizations which practice wandering as an art⁵⁸—when we are confronted with group movements like these we must certainly take note of age levels. Again, when we read of the Klondike Rush,⁵⁹ the raids of the Wiking *sneks*,⁶⁰ the furtive itinerancies of South Pacific "black-birders," the march of Coxey's Army,⁶¹ the settlement of Ionia by the Greeks of

⁴² E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars* (New York: Knopf, 1927), *passim*.

⁴³ Otis Mason, "Primitive Travel and Transportation," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1896), pp. 249-50.

⁴⁴ René Le Conte, "Les Migrations Humaines," *Scientia* (1924), CLII, 291.

⁴⁵ F. Hertz, "Die Wanderungen, ihre Typen und ihre geschichtliche Bedeutung," *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*, VIII, Heft I, 36-52.

⁴⁶ Bryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 568-571.

⁴⁷ Fairchild, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

⁴⁸ Wilson D. Wallis, *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York: 1927).

⁴⁹ Semple, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, 82-85, 112, *et passim*.

⁵⁰ Clark Wissler, *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America* (New York: 1916), pp. xvi-xvii, 190-91.

⁵¹ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Soziologische Studien u. Kritiken* 2. Sammlung (Jena: Fischer, 1926), pp. 1-18.

⁵² Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, *passim*.

⁵³ O. T. Mason, "Technogeography," quoted in W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909) pp. 41-42.

⁵⁴ Karl Bücher, *Die Entstehung, der Volkswirtschaft* (3rd ed. Leipzig, 1900) translated as *Industrial Evolution* by S. M. Wickett, (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1907) Chap. X.

⁵⁵ F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 185.

⁵⁶ Ernest Barker, "Crusades," *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed.

⁵⁷ Pitirim Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1924), *passim*.

⁵⁸ Data gathered by writer during summer of 1923 (National Student Forum Study of the *Jugendbewegung*).

⁵⁹ T. C. Down, "The Rush to the Klondike," *Cornhill Magazine* (1893), IV, 33-43, as quoted in Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 895-898.

⁶⁰ A. Mawer, *The Wikings* (Cambridge, 1913), *passim*.

⁶¹ Mark Sullivan, *The Turn of the Century* (New York, 1925), p. 34.

the Dark Age,⁶² the journeys of the *Hollandgänger*,⁶³ the *Sachsengänger*,⁶⁴ etc., the roving of the American migratory laborer,⁶⁵ and the convict colonization of Australia,⁶⁶ we have the age-level rubric literally forced upon our attention.

III

Closely connected with the foregoing is a third consideration. The composition of the moving group from a sexual standpoint must also be taken into account, for we cannot assume that movement *per se* will have the same effect upon a group composed exclusively of males as it will upon one in which the sexes are about equally represented. Every schoolboy has at least heard of the Jamestown colony and the difficulties correlated with the lack of female group members,⁶⁷ and the story of the "tobacco brides" is no less famous.⁶⁸ Other instances come to mind: the womanless lumber camps of the Northwest and the ceaseless come-and-go of their denizens,⁶⁹ the fo'c'sle plowing across the sea and its enforced bachelorhood, the attempts at surrogate comrade-sweetheart-wife-and-

mother found in all the army camps in the persons of Y. W. C. A. hostesses, Salvation Army lassies, *et al.*, during the period of extensive movement induced by the World War, the abandonment of women and children during the Aegean migrations of the Greek Dark Age,⁷⁰ the shifting army bivouacs of the eighteenth century, well characterized by Burns when he makes the old beggar woman sing

Some one of a troop of dragoons was my daddie,
No wonder I'm fond of a sodger laddie,

the exploits of Dos Passos' A. E. F. "heroes," and of the inimitable Mulvaney, Ortheris and Learoyd, to say nothing of those hardy and ambulatory perennials, Flagg and Quirt, and finally the wanderings of small groups of Scottish weavers, Italian armorers, German *Handwerksburschen*,⁷¹ and Swiss mercenaries⁷² during the period prior to the Industrial Revolution. These are but a few examples of the multitude of movements carried on by groups predominantly male; when attention is focussed on female groups the material is less plentiful. The dashes of Carrie Nation and her followers;⁷³ the parades and marches of the Woman's Temperance Crusade of 1873-74;⁷⁴ the flow of women from the city charity houses of France to Quebec during the period when the Sulpician fathers undertook the task of preventing miscegenation by providing French in-

⁶² Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (3rd. ed.; Oxford, 1924), pp. 52-54.

⁶³ A. Knoke, *Ausländische Wanderarbeiter in Deutschland*, (Leipzig, Deichert's Nachfolger, 1911), *passim*; J. V. Trzeinski, *Russisch-polnische u. galizische Wanderarbeiter im Grossherzogtum Posen*, Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien, 79. Stück, Stuttgart: Cotta, 1906) *passim*; E. v. Stojentin, *Die ausländischen Wanderarbeiter in der Provinz Pommern* (Arbeiten der Landwirtschaftskammer für Pommern, 12. Heft) (Stettin, 1909), pp. 6-17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Nels Anderson, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁶⁶ H. C. Northcott, *Australian Social Development* (1918) chap. ii.

⁶⁷ P. A. Bruce, *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, (1907), chaps. i, ii, iv.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Carleton Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays* (New York: 1920), pp. 16-26.

⁷⁰ Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

⁷¹ Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, I, 175 ff., 455, 459, 882, 885 f., II, 224, 981, 1121.

⁷² Max Jahns, *Die Kriegskunst als Kunst*, (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 112-124.

⁷³ Herbert Asbury, "Marching As to War," the Story of Carry Nation," *The Outlook and Independent*, CLII, no. 16 (August 14, 1929), 620 ff.

⁷⁴ Annie Wittenmeyer, *History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade*, as quoted in Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 898-905.

stead of Indian wives for the settlers;⁷⁵ the hikes of Girl Reserve and Campfire Girls groups; the seasonal flocking of women workers to summer resort hotels; the growing custom of summer trips to Europe by women's college coteries; the precipitate descent of ex-Barbary-Coast harpies upon every mushroom mining camp of the West; the *en masse* shifting of the inmates of houses of prostitution for the purpose of avoiding forced police action; and the furtive wandering of pairs of "lady hoboes"⁷⁶ afford examples of change of geographical location by groups predominantly female, but aside from such instances the literature is surprisingly barren. We are in somewhat better case when we search for moving groups made up of approximately equal numbers of each sex; many examples have already been given under the sexual-relation group rubric. In addition to these there may be instanced the wandering groups involved in the Dancing Mania of the Middle Ages described by Hecker,⁷⁷ the pilgrimages of monks and nuns,⁷⁸ the revolutionary "armies," where quite frequently the women almost equal the men in number, Youth Movement peregrinations to various points of interest (only those sections of the movement which do not emphasize the *Männerbund* feature are classed here),⁷⁹ the first rush of the *pauperes* section of the First Crusade in

France and the Rhineland, where women as well as men participated,⁸⁰ the seasonal oscillations of Polish laborers who work in the fields of East Elbia and Saxony,⁸¹ the "swing around the circle" of Pacific coast "fruit tramps,"⁸² and so on indefinitely. These groups or throngs may all be sexual-relation groups in a certain sense, but for our purposes here they are not placed under that rubric because sex does not act as the chief integrating factor (if any appreciable integration indeed exist).

IV

We must also take into account the rapidity of movement, our fourth factor. Wells says: "To begin with, man was a slow drifter, following food."⁸³ Semple further emphasizes the importance of slow and gradual movement as follows:

To seize upon a few conspicuous migrations, like the *Völkerwanderung* and the irruption of the Turks into Europe, made dramatic by their relation to the declining empires of Rome and Constantinople, and to ignore the vast sum of lesser but more normal movements which by slow increments produce greater and more lasting results, leads to wrong conclusions both in ethnology and history. Here, as in geology, great effects do not necessarily presuppose vast forces but rather the steady operation of small ones. It is often assumed that the world was peopled by a series of migrations; whereas everything indicates that humanity spread over the earth little by little.⁸⁴

These points are well taken, but it is nevertheless likely that sudden increases and wide differences in the rapidity of

⁷⁵ Francis Parkman, *France and England in the New World* IV, viii, "The Old Regime in Canada" (1892).

⁷⁶ S. M. Elam, "Lady Hoboes," *The New Republic*, (New York), LXI, no. 787 (January 1, 1930), 164-169.

⁷⁷ J. F. C. Hecker, *The Black Death, and the Dancing Mania* (London: Cassell & Co., 1888) pp. 106-11, quoted in Park and Burgess *op. cit.*, pp. 879-881.

⁷⁸ R. Röhricht and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgrreisen nach dem heiligen Land* (1900), pp. 119-134; R. Röhricht, "Die Pilgerfahrten nach dem Heiligen Lande vor den Kreuzzügen" *Historisches Taschenbuch* (Leipzig: 1875), 5. Folge, 5. Jahrgang, pp. 335-338.

⁷⁹ *The New Student* (fortnightly) (New York, Nov. 15, 1922), *passim*.

⁸⁰ F. Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade" *American Historical Review* (1921), pp. 440-53.

⁸¹ W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (2nd. ed.; New York: Knopf, 1927), II, 2098-2106.

⁸² P. W. Whitaker, "Fruit Tramps," *Century Magazine* (March 1929), condensed in *Readers' Digest* (Nov. 1929), pp. 599-601.

⁸³ H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 134.

⁸⁴ Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

movement have played a large part in social change, and they must find a place in any typology of movement. When man first timorously straddled the horse something important happened; how important we may see from the work of Wissler and others.⁸⁵ The domestication of the camel meant that man, the slow drifter, became a fairly rapid cruiser throughout a wide expanse of flat-land; it also meant that sessile tillage peoples who did not have the camel were at the mercy of a handful of predatory herdsmen. The invention of wheeled vehicles, however crude the cumbersome chariots may have been, made it possible for greater states to develop "the Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold." We speak of the Commercial Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, but might we not justifiably speak of the Transportation Revolution as well? Has increased rapidity of movement played no part in the world since the days when a warning horseman rode in front of the Rocket, Tom Thumb, and Puffing Billy? The jeering hoot of "Hire a horse" is no longer heard; "What the Second Car Meant to our Girls" greets us from the pages of the Delineator. Significant? And the drone of the Whirlwind is heard in the land. . . .

V

Another point . . . speaking in the current mode, Einstein and Eddington may be right, and we should probably speak of space-time rather than of space and time, but the naïve Newtonian view must serve our purpose here . . . a fifth consideration is the temporal relationship of movement to settlement. There may be no settlement at all (when we take "settle-

ment" to mean relative fixation to a relatively limited geographical location, as we do here); the perpetual shifting of the Gypsies during the half century after their first "historic" appearance in Europe in 1417 A.D.,⁸⁶ and the almost continuous to-and-fro of certain disorganized hobo types⁸⁷ afford examples. Much more frequent, of course, is temporary settlement, although one would be hard put to it to draw a line between the two. The rambles of American migratory workers presuppose short stays varying from two or three days to as many weeks or even months and whole seasons;⁸⁸ the earlier trading journeys of the Phoenicians involved at first only temporary settlement, as did those of the Greeks and practically all of the other traders of the ancient world;⁸⁹ in the European Dark and Middle Ages temporary settlement at the *depôt* or market place was frequent, and even as late as the Hanseatic period the "merchant adventurer" frequently stayed for a month or two at the point where his sales and purchases were made;⁹⁰ the *kula* journeys of the Trobrianders involve stays of some length—long enough for the *kula* giving to be completed at least;⁹¹ the traveling scholars who dotted the roads between Paris, Cologne, Prague, Florence and Padua from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries had to stay long enough in one place to hear or give a few lectures before taking the road

⁸⁶ F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1899), pp. ix-xxxiii.

⁸⁷ H. Meuter, *op. cit.*, 37-40.

⁸⁸ Whitaker, *loc. cit.*: Dean Chamberlain, "High Wages and Short Jobs," *The Atlantic Monthly* (Oct. 1929), pp. 459-465; L. J. Dublin, "Shifting of Occupations among Wage Earners," *Monthly Labor Review* (April, 1924).

⁸⁹ Heeren, *op. cit.*, I, 25-36.

⁹⁰ Sombart, *op. cit.*, I, 242 ff., 897 ff., II, 45, 49, 198, 202, 224, 259 *et passim*. (See Marks, *Messiah, Messhandel* in index.)

⁹¹ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Routledge, 1922), *passim*.

⁸⁵ C. Wissler, *loc. cit.*; M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones, and Equestrian People of Paraguay*, 3 vols. (London: 1822), I, i-iv.

again;⁹² the wanderers set in motion by Chinese famines move from district to district, merely staying in each one long enough to exhaust the food available, and then moving on;⁹³ these instances might be multiplied indefinitely. Seasonal settlement is a very frequent type; the pre-war tide of Sicilian immigrants arriving at Ellis Island was decidedly seasonal,⁹⁴ it also characterizes much pastoral nomadism, such as that of the Banyankole cattle culture of the African Lake Region,⁹⁵ the Kutzo-Vlachs of Rumania,⁹⁶ the Mongoloid peoples of the Puszla, that green moorland of Central Asia "dappled with flowers,"⁹⁷ many of the Berber peoples of Algeria, Tripoli and Morocco,⁹⁸ the Bechuana branch of the Bantu nomads,⁹⁹ and the peoples called Hamaxobii by Roman writers, "dwellers in the Scythian plains, Agathyrsi and Sauromatac."¹⁰⁰ Seasonal settlement is also found among non-pastoral peoples; Brunhes¹⁰¹ and others¹⁰² have described the peculiar shifting of the African agricultural people called the Fang, and Mukerjee has found similar phenomena in India and elsewhere. He says:

⁹² Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 210-12.

⁹³ *Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Bela Szechenyi in Ostasien, 1887-1880* (Vienna, 1893), I, 223.

⁹⁴ Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles*, (New York: Nat. Bur. of Econ. Research, Inc., 1926) pp. 239-40.

⁹⁵ Roscoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

⁹⁶ Bowman, *op. cit.*; Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ Leon Cahun, *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie* (Paris, 1906), p. 134.

⁹⁸ Brunhes, *op. cit.*; pp. 309-10.

⁹⁹ J. T. Brown, *Among the Bantu Nomads* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1926).

¹⁰⁰ Ratzel, *op. cit.*, III, 337.

¹⁰¹ Brunhes, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-31.

¹⁰² Father Martrou, "Nomadisme des Fang," *Rev. de géog. annuelle* (of Prof. Vélain) (Paris: Delgrave), iii, 1909; R. P. H. Trille "Proverbes, légendes, et contes fang," *Bull. de la Soc. neuchâteloise de géog.*, XVI (1905), 49-295.

... the Santals have become cultivators of plants, but have not been able to give up their nomadic habits After harvesting they rove in the woods. This is also the case of many wandering tribes in Assam and the Chittagong Hill tracts, and in North America. Even where they are more settled, they must change their habitations from time to time, because their agricultural methods lead to soil exhaustion. The Mikirs of the Assam range practise the form of cultivation by axe, fire and hoe known as *jhum* and raise a few small animals they meet by the way. Their villages are nomadic, moving from place to place as the soil in the neighborhood becomes exhausted. The Lushais similarly practise *jhum*. . . .¹⁰³

Now settlement until the soil becomes exhausted is not seasonal settlement, strictly speaking; it marks a transitional stage on the way to permanent settlement. Similarly transitional appears to have been the economy of the Germanic tribes when they first loomed upon the Roman horizon; they were in a sense pastoral nomads, but the topography and climate of Central Europe puts them in a class different from that of the primary nomads of the steppe and similar semi-arid regions. The fact that they practised some agriculture and were hence to some extent sessile is attested by Caesar,¹⁰⁴ Strabo,¹⁰⁵ Tacitus,¹⁰⁶ and Pomponius Mela.¹⁰⁷

With increasing population density and the rise of cities, places of *settlement* become more or less permanent, although the *monad's* frequency of movement is often considerably greater than in hunting and nomadic cultures. For our purposes here, however, we take permanent settlement to mean the long continued residence of the

¹⁰³ Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology*, (New York: Century, 1926), pp. 160-61. Cf. also E. Schlagintweit, "Wander-und Zigeunerstämme im nordwestlichen Indien," *Globus*, Vol. XLVI, Braunschweig, 1856).

¹⁰⁴ Caesar, *op. cit.*, Bk. IV, mi; VI, xxii.

¹⁰⁵ Strabo, *op. cit.*, Bk. VII, i, sec. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Tacitus, *Germania*, secs. 5, 15, 25, et. seq.

¹⁰⁷ Pomponius Mela, Bk. III, xxvii.

tribe, family, or individual in one geographical location; we are interested in the movements of human beings, and not in the shiftings of the material bases of residence (except as such shiftings are correlated with human movements). Phenomena partly relevant at this point are found in such cases as Kant's life-long residence in Königsberg,¹⁰⁸ the Spartan's disapproval of travel and his consequent and consistent refusal to budge outside the valley of the Eurotas for any cause short of war, the fact that many inhabitants of villages in the Pyrenees, the Black Forest, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, Iceland, the Kentucky mountains, etc., live in the houses occupied by their great-great-great . . . n,¹⁰⁹ and Al Smith's long familiarity with the sidewalks of New York. More relevant and significant, perhaps, is the *change* from seasonal settlement to permanent settlement—an event that almost always involves movement and further change. Victor Bérard has described the disorganizing change that has always overtaken the pastoral nomad of "Turan" when he conquers a bit of "Iran" and settles there permanently.¹¹⁰ Ibn Khaldūn saw what happened to the roving Berber when he settled in the sea-coast towns of North Africa, and scented afar the decline of the Moslem hegemony in that region.¹¹¹ Even the hard-bitten, *kumiss*-drinking, wide-ranging Manchus somehow took on the effete culture of the mandarins behind

the Great Wall after they themselves settled down in its lee.¹¹²

VI

There is a strong presumption in favor of the belief that movement from one politico-geographical area to another is important.¹¹³ Strictly speaking, such movement should of course be included under the rubric allotted to change in culture area, but for the sake of getting an important element isolated it is perhaps permissible to take liberties with a system of classification which after all is purely heuristic, and make of it our sixth point. Internal tribal or national movement is the most convenient beginning for our purposes: movement from province to province, state to state, shire to shire, etc., within the same politico-geographical unit is denoted by this phrase, and is exemplified in the "rural exodus";¹¹⁴ the shifting of automobile workers from Flint to Detroit to Toledo and back again; the repeated transferences of German university students; "the winning of the West";¹¹⁵ the seasonal round like that of the Tunguse Orochon of Siberia, who in pursuit of various fish and game change their residence within their territory from month to month, and like that of the pastoral nomads who move with the seasons from pasture to pasture and who usually "own" a particular sequence of pastures upon which other groups trespass on pain of battle;¹¹⁶ the travels of structural steel workers from city to city in search of high

¹⁰⁸ Tönnies, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁹ Newell, H. Sims, *The Rural Community, Ancient and Modern*, (New York, 1920), notes and bibliography on p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Victor Bérard, *Révolutions de la Perse*, (Paris: Colin, 1910), pp. 53-88.

¹¹¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Les prolégomènes*, traduites en français et commentées par M. William MacGuckin (baron) de Slane [Paris: Imprimerie imperiale, 1863], Tome XIX, I, 259-60, 263-64.

¹¹² Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 ff.

¹¹³ Bücher, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁴ E. Vandervelde, *L'exode rural et le retour aux champs* (Paris, 1903), *passim*; H. Demains, *Les migrations ouvrières à travers la Belgique*, (Louvain: Bowmans, 1919), p. 8.

¹¹⁵ F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1920), pp. 251-52.

¹¹⁶ Mason, *loc. cit.*

pay and big buildings, and so on. Next comes external continental movement, which denotes change of geographical location involving movement beyond current tribal or national boundaries, but not involving transthalassic or transoceanic navigation. The surges of the Golden Horde,¹¹⁷ the rushes of Tamerlane's Centaur-like horsemen,¹¹⁸ the journey of Ser Marco Polo across the Asiatic wastes,¹¹⁹ the expeditions of the herdsmen of the Hamitic culture across the "steppes" region of North Central Africa,¹²⁰ the forays of the reivers of the Scottish Border,¹²¹ the pastoral wanderings of the "Aryans,"¹²² the expansion of the horse-equipped Plains Indians,¹²³ and the stupendous shuttling of thousands of American automobiles that cross and recross the Canadian and Mexican boundaries—all find a place here. Having thus canvassed the possibilities of the land, we turn to the water. Early navigators hugged the shore, and were glad of stepping-stone islands; they had a penchant for lakes, shallow seas, land-locked gulfs, archipelagoes. Following Ratzel and Semple, we use the term "transthalassic" to denote

such half-fledged navigation; it is of especial significance for early Baltic ventures,¹²⁴ for the Ionian migrations¹²⁵ and for movements throughout the whole eastern end of the Mediterranean.¹²⁶ Some types of Polynesian¹²⁷ and British Columbian¹²⁸ sailing and paddling closely approach the transthalassic variety; they really mark a transition between the latter and the transoceanic. Not a great deal need be said about the significance of ocean-borne movement for social change: the expansion of Europe of which Shepherd¹²⁹ and others have so well written, with its attendant Commercial Revolution, could not have taken place had the oceans not been bridged. The greatest series of movements in all history has taken place in the last century;¹³⁰ Europe has poured into the United States via the Atlantic. The results of this vast shifting of peoples

¹²⁴ B. Hagendorn, *Die Entwicklung der wichtigsten Schiffstypen* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 150-51.

¹²⁵ Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-39.

¹²⁶ Victor Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, I, 20-34, 200 ff., 225 ff.

Semple points out the significance of thalassic movement thus:

"Primitive peoples carry a drag upon their migrations in their restricted geographical outlook; ignorance robs them of definite goals. The evolution of the historical movement is accelerated by every expansion of the geographical horizon. It progresses most rapidly where the knowledge of outlying or remote lands travels fastest, as along rivers and thalassic coasts" (Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

¹²⁷ Otto Sittig, "Compulsory Migration in the Pacific Ocean," *Smithsonian Institute Annual Report for 1895*, pp. 519-535, (translated from Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1890, Vol. XXXVI); G. Friederici, "Die Schifffahrt der Indianer," in *Buschens Studien und Forschungen* (Stuttgart, 1907), Vol. I.

¹²⁸ J. G. Swan, "The Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands," *Smithsonian Institution Contributions to Knowledge*, No. 21, art. 4, 1-22.

¹²⁹ W. R. Shepherd, "The Expansion of Europe," three articles in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXIV (1919), 43 ff., 210 ff., 392 ff.

¹³⁰ R. B. Dixon, *The Building of Cultures*, (New York: Scribner's, 1928), p. 44.

¹¹⁷ H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (1876-78), pp. 243-281.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 392-410.

¹¹⁹ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, Sir Henry Yule, ed. (3rd. ed.; revised by H. Cordier, London: Hakluyt Society, 1903) 2 vols.

¹²⁰ Leo Frobenius, "Early African Culture and Present Negro Potentialities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1928, CXXXX, 159.

¹²¹ Robert Bruce Armstrong, chaps. on "The Debateable Land" in *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale and the Debateable Land*, (Part I from the Twelfth Century to 1530) (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1856).

¹²² Charles de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, (Paris: Masson, 1896), pp. 23-24.

¹²³ C. Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of the Plains Indians," *American Anthropologist*.

ramify in ways measureless to man; "it doth not yet appear what we shall be."

VII

Almost inseparably connected with the foregoing is a seventh element; movement may be correlated with a change from one type of geographical environment (as Ratzel, Semple, Vidal de La Blache, Febvre, Huntington, Vallaux and other human geographers use the term) to another. When this occurs, the form of social change may reflect the change of geographic environment quite distinctly; Cowan states the matter very graphically: "English and Dutch, the pick of the maritime nations, have been converted into complete landmen in South Africa."¹³¹ Ogburn has also noted the possibility: "The culture of a particular people may suffer a loss if they migrate to a new geographical location. Thus a people may give up their hunting culture and become herders of cattle."¹³² Wissler, however, is inclined to minimize the frequency of such changes. He divides the dynamic diffusion zones (i.e., the zones where diffusion of culture has been correlated with extensive movement) into tundra, mesa and jungle, and says that movement usually does not pass beyond the confines of these zones, which is tantamount to saying that *fundamental* change in geographic environment rarely takes place.¹³³ This may have

been true in previous centuries, although Dixon denies it,¹³⁴ but it certainly is not true at present, nor in fact has it been true since the Commercial Revolution. Moslems from Yemen traded with the Hanse towns in the Baltic as early as the eighth century,¹³⁵ Frenchmen from Gascony became *couriers du bois* in the tamarack gloominess of present-day Ontario and Quebec,¹³⁶ Germans from the Palatinate colonized semi-tropical portions of Brazil,¹³⁷ lads from Kentish hopfields today

China, Tibet

North American Plateau, Yucatan

Andean Highlands, Peru

Jungle Zone (Low, humid, tropical):

Tropical Africa

Southern Asia

Tropical Islands

Caribbean Area

Amazon Area

"The great civilizations of the world have been on the mesa. Here is where the great agricultural trait-complexes were built up as well as the metal-complexes. The domestication complexes—ox, horse, camel, sheep, goat, etc.—belong here also. Just why the centers of origin for these trait-complexes lie in this zone it may be unprofitable to consider; but once they did arise and become adjusted to the local environments, their diffusion would follow the mesa. Again, the great hunting cultures known to us are at their best on the tundra and among the conifers, for they were built around the great game animals and their diffusion controlled accordingly. Finally, analogous situations are found in the jungle. . . .

" . . . there was a very ancient line of cleavage in the racial antecedents of modern man, and . . . by their choice of habitats, or perchance only their respective geographical fates, the cultures to evolve from each were fundamentally conditioned. Not even the most hectic diffusion of modern times has been able to eradicate it wholly" (Wissler, *Man and Culture*, pp. 230-32).

" . . . a racial group will tend to migrate or to invade areas like its homeland" (*Ibid.*, p. 338).

¹³⁴ Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹³⁵ Georg Jacob, *Der Einfluss des Morgenlands auf das Abendland, vornehmlich während des Mittelalters* (Hanover: Lafaire, 1924), p. 16.

¹³⁶ R. C. Dexter, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

¹³⁷ A. Funke, *Aus Deutsch-Brasilien* (Leipzig, Teubner, no date), pp. 26-43.

¹³¹ A. R. Cowan, *Master-Clues in World History* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1914) p. 195.

¹³² W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, p. 76.

¹³³ *The Great Diffusion Zones*

Tundra Zone (from true tundra to steppes, plains and forests):

North Europe

Russia, Siberia

Siberia, Mongolia

Canada, Eastern United States

Argentine, Patagonia

Mesa Zone (Highlands—dry to arid):

Southern Europe, Northern Africa

Egypt, Mesopotamia

steam in the dank lushness of Burmese jungles,¹²⁸ Haiti takes its toll of men who enter its humid confines fresh from Brooklyn Navy Yard, younger sons of old English families wear the red coat of the Mounties in the Klondike,¹²⁹

And the Nile spills his overflow
Beside the Severn's dead.

This preliminary survey of seven possible conditioning factors of movement

¹²⁸ *Encyc. Britt.*, 14th ed., art. "Burma."

¹²⁹ M. J. Bonn, "Die beiden England," *Die Neue Rundschau* (Oct. 1929) p. 440.

does much to demonstrate the folly of attempting to derive valid sociological generalizations from a consideration of one or two factors only, but the full weight of the case against ecological and demographic methods (when they are advanced as all-sufficient) is not yet manifest. The second part of this article considers six more factors that do much, in the writer's opinion, to harden the contention that culture case study alone can do justice to the complexity of population movements.

(To be concluded)

COOLEY, A GREAT TEACHER

READ BAIN

Miami University

WHEN I began graduate work in 1920, one of the first assignments was the initial chapters of *Social Organization*. Within the next few weeks I had read the Trilogy. This remains the most exciting adventure I have had in the jungle of sociological literature. I felt that I knew the author much more intimately than many men with whom I had long been in face-to-face contact. After I came to know him personally, better perhaps than most of his recent students, this early feeling that I had known him for many years remained undimmed. The "personal idea" of Cooley, the man, gained from his books was almost as vivid, and essentially the same, as the idea of the man gained from face-to-face experience. If "Style is the man," Cooley is one of the great literary stylists.

The reading of the books "struck fire in my consciousness" and led to a correspondence which lasted sporadically till his death. These letters, before I had met him, added to my feeling that I knew him better than I knew most men. It was, and

is, a continuous source of wonder to me that he should have spent so much time writing long letters to a young man he had never seen. It is a fine example of the generous way in which he spent his slender store of energy; of his never-failing kindness toward people and interest in them. Needless to say it was a great encouragement to me and strengthened my vague ambition to become a student of sociology.

This ability to catch the imagination of the student is certainly one of the tests of a great teacher. I was caught by the books and letters of Cooley before I had seen him, and the bonds of admiration, loyalty, and love have not, and will not, loosen. No man ever disapproved more strongly than Cooley that insidious teacher-student relationship which may be called "prophet and parrot." He fostered independence and self-reliance. He professed to have no "system" and deplored "schools of scholarship." Like Jowett and other great teachers, he valued and encouraged honest disagreement from students. He knew that the organic

growth of scholarship, like all cultural growths, depends upon variants. Of all my teachers, Cooley stands preëminent as the one who had developed to its highest and most creative form the art of "disagreeing agreeably."

He consistently refused to give students much "help" in selecting "subjects for dissertations." He held that the student should immerse himself in some "field of interest," explore it, reflect upon it, and trust to the "principle of growth" for the emergence of some well-defined and significant problem. Freshness of view, non-stereotyped thinking, originality, the power of creative organization of ideas,—*insight*, in short, were the traits he regarded as desirable in doctoral candidates. He knew that anyone of average intelligence and persistence could do the "wood-rat research," that characterizes so much so-called graduate work. The director does the thinking and the candidate does the clerical work. Doubtless the reason so many young men are disgusted with graduate work and regard it as a necessary evil is because they never get a chance to do any creative thinking in connection with it. They are merely doing chores—and someone else's chores, at that. Cooley had no use for such so-called research. If the student feels no creative urge, if his heart is not in it, the chances are that his head is only half-heartedly in it,—or so Cooley thought.

He himself was never in bondage to the mechanics of thought. He took it for granted that candidates should have mastered the elementary techniques and be able to acquire new or more advanced ones if their work demanded it. Consequently, those who quote Cooley as one opposed to "quantitative research" do him an injustice. He was no "enemy to statistics," but insisted upon the grave danger that statistical analysis may obscure socio-

logical realities. Statistics may give to partial factors that appearance of completion and finality which often sadly misleads the unwary. Intelligence testing and other biometric dogmas are notable examples of the scientific sins that may be committed in the name of statistics. *Rightly used*, Cooley regarded statistics as one of the most powerful tools for sociological analysis,—rightly used and *properly interpreted*.

In 1922, I spent a day with him near Frankfort, Michigan. I am glad that I first saw him in the informality of a summer camp, surrounded by his family. One of his hobbies was "carpentering." We sat and talked in front of a cabin he had built seventeen years before. Later, he built another, and that summer he was helping his son-in-law build a third. We sat on a bench and talked while summer showers chased across the blue waters of Crystal Lake. Or rather I talked while he listened. Occasional questions and comments aided in establishing that rapport which made it possible for the awed young man to lay bare the nakedness of his soul. Cooley was a creative listener. His brief remarks upon another's ideas were the epitome of the art of teaching. He was a great teacher because he talked so little. "Ye are not heard for your much speaking."

His art of stimulating self-reliance in the student is well illustrated by this anecdote. We had been talking about the possibility of my doing graduate work at Michigan. He had emphasized his belief that a certain amount of originality was the prime requisite for graduate work. When I stated my doubt that I had any, he said, "You can't tell; time alone can tell." Then he went on to say that sociologists generally credited him with some originality in his discussion of primary groups and primary group ideals, but that he himself attached

no great importance to it at the time, and never had regarded these ideas as very original. In fact, this part of *Social Organization* was an afterthought. His own feeling was that the contribution in this book was the discussion of institutions. But when he had finished, there seemed to be a sort of gap between *Human Nature* and its institutional expression, so he wrote the material on primary groups in an attempt to show the organic relationship between the socialized person and the institutional organization of society.

This was, and is, fine pedagogy for the self-doubting post-adolescent. Such incidents in his own experience are, I think, the cue to Cooley's thinking and teaching. That is why he insisted that students should be patient and wait for significant syntheses of experience to occur. Doubtless his life-long study of the lives of Goethe and Darwin contributed to this point of view. *Significant growths are slow and slow growths are more likely to be organic.* In these days of so much emphasis upon learning by doing, perhaps there is wisdom in the theory of learning by waiting and thinking. We require students to do so much reading and the campus life requires so much doing that little time and energy are left for thinking and organizing experience into coherent patterns. We spread ourselves so thin that there is no chance for that deep rootage which makes possible significant, organic growth. He was quite convinced that this concept of "organic growth," with its corollary of non-particularism, was his most important contribution, but he once said, smiling slightly, that he supposed he would be remembered, if at all, for "primary groups."

His own life and work are a good example of organic growth. While I do not know the details, his books, letters, and casual remarks give me the impression

that his apparent serenity, self-control, and patient tolerance were underlaid by considerable inner *Sturm und Drang*. He was hypersensitive and super-shy. Like Goethe and Darwin, he found himself "rather slowly."

Mrs. Cooley told me that each book was for years merely an apparently unrelated hodgepodge of little scraps of paper most of which were eventually thrown away, and all of which were often rewritten. One day at Crystal Lake, an old fisherman, observing one session of this endless sorting of slips of paper, and being told that 'Mr. Cooley was writing a book,' said, "Well, if that's all there air to it, I guess I could write a book meself." Cooley was a master of the art of writing, though he claimed that whatever literary value his work may have was largely due to the advice and help of Mrs. Cooley. He also gave her generous credit for the ideas. In the observation of the development of the social selves of children she was an indispensable assistant. Those of us who know Mrs. Cooley can testify that these remarks are not merely evidence of his modesty and chivalry. Mrs. Cooley was an invaluable helper.

Cooley told me once that one of the most important influences in his development was his reading the proofs of his father's *Constitutional Law*. There he learned the art of painstaking revision, nicety in the use of words, tricks in the art of scholarly composition. All of Cooley's students testify to the fact that they write more slowly and painfully as a result of his influence. Most of them are still scribblers, but they all agree they would be worse than they are were it not for his emphasis upon simplicity, clarity, precision, and *revision*.

Cooley was not an omnivorous reader, but he read as an artist views a picture. He chose books which expressed the im-

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pressions of fruitful lives and read some of them many times. Among these were *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Darwin's *Autobiography*, White's *Selborne*, the essays of Emerson and Montaigne, and *mirabile dictu*, Grant's *Memoirs*. He told me that it had long been a practice with him to read the *Memoirs clear through* every two or three years. It would be interesting to know why this book fascinated him so much.¹

In the afternoon of my visit in 1922, we drove around Crystal Lake to the wooded shore of Lake Michigan in the car which Cooley whimsically said he had finally been able to purchase by compelling ten generations of Michigan students to buy *Social Organization*. He knew every flower and shrub of the region. In the joy of the our-of-doors, in the ever fresh thrill of nature study, with his family about him, sociology was forgotten. His sly humor, his radiant kindness, his wide range of interest, his *wisdom*, made Cooley a most delightful companion for those who can sense the flavor of human life without gabbling about it. There is a beautiful story which may never be written: *Cooley, the Man, His Friends and Family*.

In 1923, I went to Michigan. Mr. Hamilton has well described Cooley's methods of graduate teaching. I did more work in philosophy and psychology than I did in sociology. I spent the year in "exploring a field of interest." It was fun, and profitable, but it turned out to be devoid of that rare jewel—it yielded no thesis! It would be interesting to know the percentage of Michigan doctors in sociology who finally presented a thesis

on the subject they began to "explore." I would guess Michigan men in sociology were longer in completing the doctorate than men in many other schools. None of the candidates had a "subject" foisted upon him because some one in the department was interested in that subject. The student was largely thrown upon his own resources, if any. If he had not, or could not, learn to swim, he should not be attempting the channel of the doctorate. The degree, as such, meant little to Cooley, but he was tremendously interested in the process of growth by which it was gained. He was chiefly concerned with the development of the mind of the student.

The Cooley seminars were very informal, but extremely stimulating. We felt that we were getting educated even though we did not perform the foot-noted miracles, the mapping and correlating, the field-work, the note-taking and organizing, and similar tricks which are so popular in the great indoor sport of graduate study. There was plenty of discussion, clashing of what we fondly thought were "our ideas," with now and then a pertinent question, a deflating remark, a suggestion for reading, or a possible new angle of approach, by Cooley. Usually, however, he was merely the constructive listener and seldom offered his views unless someone, usually Bob Angell or Harry Lurie, would say, "What do you think about it, Mr. Cooley?" He always made us feel that we were fellow-travellers on the road to understanding.

It is not strange, then, that Cooley was greatly loved by his students. He was a lovable man and a great teacher, the truest exemplar I have ever known of the fine old phrase, "a scholar and a gentleman." His scholarship was never pedantic; his gentility was never pretentious. Modesty, simplicity, kindness, courtesy, carefulness, were outstanding traits. His toler-

¹ The excerpt from his *Journals* in the introduction to *Sociological Theory and Social Research*, edited by R. C. Angell, Holt, 1930, suggests a possible explanation. It is to be hoped the *Journals* may be published soon.

ance never had the false ring of lack of conviction. While he valued and respected other men's ideas, he also valued his own. Once at dinner, when I had asked his opinion of a recent social psychology he said smiling, "You'd be surprised how little we social psychologists think of each other's books."

While he was naturally shy and retiring, he was never aloof. He was never in a hurry, never impatient. He was a firm believer in the sovereign alchemy of time.

He was always curious and full of wonder, and communicated this spirit to his students. He was not a "narrow specialist," though he fully appreciated the necessity for specialization. To him life was always an enthralling adventure, and *human* life was the learning life; human learning is largely communication, and communication is an art. In last analysis, then, he thought of human life as an adventurous art.

So he was a great teacher.

THE CONCEPT "CULTURE CONFLICT:" IN WHAT SENSE VALID?

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THE particular terms employed by any group of scientists may be adopted from any common usage, may be partially created out of dead languages, or may be devised *de novo*, the meanings associated with these terms ranging from the common ones to technical ones with all shades of mixture in between. Latin names for biological species or for parts of the human body have the advantage at least of helping to prevent popular meddling with technical and precise meanings. When ordinary concepts are adopted by a science, it runs several risks, particularly when many untrained or partially trained people are dabbling in it. The least we can do, it seems to me, is to indicate in every case whether we are employing terms with the full popular sense (assuming that popular sense to be precise), with the meaning given it by another science, or with a particular and limited significance. The same principle holds true of combinations of terms such as "culture conflict."

So far as I see, the term "culture" as used in the term "culture conflict" is most

likely to connote, if taken strictly, something which corresponds neither to the popular meaning of it nor to the meaning attached to it by anthropology. When used by itself, in sociology, the term culture has usually been assumed to have the meaning given it in recent years by anthropology. With reasonable uniformity, it has been applied to material objects, to customary methods of manipulating objects, to language and writings, and to individual or social behavior characterizing human beings for successive generations. "Conflict" by itself has had meanings ranging from overt bodily attack between two individuals or groups to legal disputation and balloting amongst individuals and groups on one wing, and to neural and psychological collision or interference within the individual, on the other. As used in sociology, the term has usually been confined to social situations.

What then do we mean by "culture conflict"? Do we imply that the term *conflict* is to be broadened out to include the objects and language and behavior of

culture in the anthropological sense, or is the term *culture* to be narrowed to include only social situations? Obviously, in using the compound term, we are implying either one or the other of those alternatives.

It may be thought by some that the question here raised is one that causes no particular difficulty. If so, why is it that the phenomena of culture conflict (loosely used) has been so overlooked? I venture the suggestion that this oversight may be due in part to the vagueness of the conception in the minds of many who reflect upon the social relations between different culture groups. Some social theorists go so far as to feel there is no such thing as culture conflict, that all differences between people alien to one another will vanish and men everywhere will greet each other as brothers if only they may have social relations with each other. Another group of theorists not yet extinct appear to believe that, having disposed of the notion of innate racial antipathy, they have analyzed the only significant problem in this general field. And more recent sociological investigators into "race conflict" have seemed to put such emphasis upon economic factors that the economic "race relations cycle" appears to crowd out any other source of conflict between the different color and culture groups.

If there are phenomena corresponding to the term culture conflict, is it not true that we handicap students' attempts to get a perspective on it by the very ambiguity of the term? From an immediate practical standpoint, should we not, in view of the decision to make Culture Conflict the chief topic for the forthcoming meeting of the American Sociological Society, clarify that objective by making certain preliminary distinctions as to its meaning. With that in mind the following additional

questions are raised and suggestions offered.

Since the term culture is usually applied to material and immaterial things and to certain ideological or language data which fall partly under each head, in which of these types of culture *can* there be conflict?

Articles of material culture cannot be said to *conflict*. One may be used to block or interfere with another, to manipulate another, or to displace another; or one may be intermingled (fluids, fine substances like soils), integrated (building materials), or chemically combined with one another. Yet when the son of new Turkey dons an American silk top hat on parade in place of the traditional fez or when a Chinese student wears Occidental broad-bottomed trousers instead of the Oriental gown, to their grandfathers' chagrin and anger, we cannot say that the silk hat and the fez or the trousers and the traditional gown are in conflict with one another. The conflict lies between the two individuals, obviously, and *is social*.

Take the case of a language or belief. Does one kind of language conflict with another? Does one belief conflict with another? Possibly the nearest approach to a conflict here is the logical inconsistency between the two language-forms or beliefs; this, however, is a matter of judging each by an exterior standard imposed upon it by individuals and the comparison of these judgments. Again, language is something *used by* people; in using it people may displace their own or others' use of a previous language, may hinder or prevent themselves or other people from using a new language, or may combine the use of it with the use of any other language. The same with beliefs. But when strict grammarians of the old school become incensed at the younger generation's sanction of "It is *me*," does the con-

lict lie between "me" and "I," as two forms of language? Or is it a conflict between the two groups of people, older and younger, because of the two forms? Similarly with the two generations' beliefs regarding work, dress, amusements.

The same kind of questions may be asked as to behavior culture such as etiquette, ceremonies, and traditional patterns in general. There may be a displacement of one custom by another or the mixture of the two in varying designs, but is the conflict which may be entailed a conflict among customs themselves or a conflict among the people conforming to the different cultural patterns?

The elementary nature of this distinction may seem so obvious as to make emphasis upon it seems absurdly superfluous. "Of course," the user of the term may reply, "we refer to conflict *caused by* culture, presumably by *differences* in culture . . . or . . . well, yes . . . maybe also by the very *existence*, presence, or nature of culture in certain cases . . . yes, and possibly by *likenesses* in culture!"

Let us follow this through a bit. Munition manufacturing establishments, I presume, constitute culture; their existence, it is claimed, is one provocative source or cause of war—mere *existence*, note, nature of culture, indeed of the *same* culture in the two different countries, not difference in culture, is the causative factor here, it is said—and then, when the conflict comes, is the war national conflict or culture conflict? At this point some one else may break in and say, "No, the war caused by the pressure of munition makers, is fundamentally caused by their economic motive, the desire for economic gain from munitions." Well, then, follow that through—is the conflict culture conflict or economic conflict? Or, again, to revert to the illustration of the fez versus the silk top hat

mentioned above, is that a case of family conflict or of culture conflict? And, if in the mind of the Turkish parent the fez or some other article should somehow have religious significance, would the resulting conflict be religious or cultural?

In brief, if causation is implied as the explanatory principle in the term culture conflict—i.e., if culture conflict is to mean conflict caused by culture—, will not the term cover omnigenous situations and lose all significance. Every situation has a cultural aspect in some phase of it or other, it seems.

If the two above attempts to interpret culture conflict do not seem to be satisfactory, is there some meaning we may attach to it and still preserve it as a useful term? May we take a clue from other compounds with conflict? e.g., family conflict, economic conflict, national conflict, race conflict? The trouble is that even here there is not clarity. Possibly the best we can say is that such terms refer to conflict "*within* the (family) group," "*between* the (race) groups," or "caused by the dominant (economic; religious; etc.) interest in the situation." Such is the looseness which the presence of an adjective introduces into a concept!

Is it not rather futile for sociology to employ such compound terms seriously until either the gathering and classification of actual data or further empirical analysis gives us more precise terms? Surely, in this particular case, it is not culture that conflicts—culture can be manipulated, can be affirmed or denied (belief), or can be (employed as a pattern of) behavior, but cannot conflict—it is people that conflict (or, in psychology or neurology, neural or psychological im-

¹ Whenever in social conflict, the persons concerned are behaving according to any customary patterns even partially—which is almost always—it might be called behavior culture conflict!

pulses). Obviously, too, if culture conflict is meant to refer to all conflict *caused* in part by culture, is not the meaning so inclusive as to make the use of the term of questionable value—is any conflict left out? And finally, if the adjective "culture" in the term culture conflict should refer to a grouping of people, we should 'confine' it to culture groups—are any left out?—;

or if it should refer to (culture as) an interest, we would similarly include all situations.

Is not such a combination term too unwieldy for practical consideration unless we settle upon some limited meaning for it, at least tentatively until research in various kinds of "culture" brings in more distinctions?

CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

ARNOŠT BLÁHA

TRANSLATED BY MILDRED HARTSOUGH

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SOCIOLOGY in Czechoslovakia has grown up in the lap of philosophy.

When in the nineteenth century, Czech national society began the reconstruction of its crumbled material and spiritual organization, attention had to be turned to philosophy and science as well as to a linguistic, political, social, and economic renaissance. The first Czech philosophers of that time sought their models in Germany, since they could look back on no extensive traditions at home. First of all, it was the idealistic Hegelian philosophy which found eager and gifted followers. But this philosophy was too highly speculative, and the exaggerated intellectualism of Hegel brought no satisfaction in the Czech attempts to find a harmonious solution of the actual national problems. Thus there came an early reaction in Bohemia against Hegel, a reaction which also had a political foundation, for government and church suppressed Hegelianism with all possible means. The transition was from Hegelianism to the empiricism of his opponent, Herbart. Due to this dependence of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy on Herbart,

the first systematic treatise in sociology also showed the influence of his doctrines.

This was the *Ideje k psychologii společnosti jakožto základ sociální vědy* (*Social Psychology as a Foundation for Social Science*), 1871, by G. A. Lindner (1828–1887), later Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Prague. One who is interested in tracing the course of ideas may see how Lindner completes this line of development from Hegel through Herbart, which implied an increasing emphasis on the scientific in the concepts of sociology and of society. Lindner's book appeared before Spencer's and Tarde's chief contributions, and before the rise of the organic and psychological schools of sociology in France, America, and Germany. The early influence of Herbart and his student Lazarus account for the psychological trend of the first systematic Czech sociology. For while in the west, especially under Spencer, the attempt to erect sociology into a science often led to a biological orientation, which did not stop with mere analogy, but ended, for some, in the absolute identifying of the biological and the social organism, the emphasis in Germany (as is easily explained by the German tradition of an objective idealism) was rather on

* Reprinted from the *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, II, 1926.

the intellectual aspect of the social whole. The point of attack of Herbart, and thus also of Lindner, was psycho-sociological.

Although Lindner took the stimulus for his work, and its guiding principles, from Herbart, and much of his material from Lazarus, his social psychology is nevertheless worked out on an independent plan, and all that he borrowed is worked over in the light of his own ideas. He applied his sociological principles especially to pedagogy, and made the social point of view (as well as the genetic) not only incidental, but fundamental, thus becoming one of the first path-finders of social pedagogy. A clear and definitive picture of this important period in the development of scientific Czech sociology, and its basic connections with foreign models is to be found in the excellent book of Dr. J. Kral, Professor at the University of Bratislava, *Herbartovská sociologie (Herbartian Sociology)*, 1922.

Lindner's sociology is still too highly speculative. Really scientific sociology was first written by T. G. Masaryk (born 1850), formerly Professor at the University of Prague, now President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. His name signifies also a complete departure from Herbart, and a turning to the more positivistic and realistic sociology of western Europe, a shift which has been followed by all other scholars in the field.

The stirring life of his youth furnished Masaryk with unlimited stimuli and impulses, which called forth varied reactions and at the same time made it possible to develop his innate tendencies. The result was the growth, from his native temperament, of a character which, to use Paulhan's term, must be numbered among the "équilibrés." His interests are an indication: he studied statistics and geography, he had a preference for natural science, but his sharp observation was

directed, not only on the outer, material world, but upon men as well, and upon their inner natures as well as their outer characteristics. One can detect in him not only attentiveness to the world about him, but a concentration as though on an undisclosed plan, a careful striving after inner harmony. The authors whom he at this period read and studied, Lessing, Humboldt, Lange (*Geschichte des Materialismus*), only strengthened his inner sense of realism.

When he finally turned from the natural sciences to philosophy, he endeavored to construct a philosophy on a scientific basis which would satisfy all the needs of man, thinking that such a philosophy would bring order and harmony into the intellectual and moral anarchy and disorganization of the individual, as well as of society, today. He was certainly thinking especially here of Czech society. Before such a philosophy is possible (and of course it will never be brought to completion), it is necessary to put our knowledge in order, to classify it and to test it exactly, scientifically, critically.

On the formal side, the way for an exact philosophy was prepared by his *Konkretní Logik (Toward a Concrete Logic)*, 1887 (Czech edition 1885). This book, which is a sort of catechism of the knowledge of Being, offers a classification of sciences, indeed, it classifies all human activities, and develops a unified and natural system of human knowledge. To this end, it specifies with what objects of science each is concerned, with what methods each proceeds, what divisions it exhibits, and what part in the system of knowledge it takes. Thus it shows the relationships between sciences in content and in method, and the interconnections and interdependence of all sciences. The book further indicates how the dogmatic part of every science corresponds to its historical development.

Finally, it attempts to suggest the philosophical value of the various sciences, itself included. Masaryk himself was concerned with systematizing the thinking of his compatriots; the Czech public received here its first real education in sociology. Masaryk further in his studies [*Podstata a metoda sociologie* (*The Nature and Methods of Sociology*), *Rukověť sociologie* (*Introduction to Sociology*)] both appearing in his review *Náš doba*, takes the standpoint of critical realism. He recognizes in social events the rôle of the individual as initiator, and his part in the formation of social life; on the other hand also the influence of the social organization, of the social collectivity, a definite, ideal whole, which is the collective, objective possession of the group. Masaryk stands midway between extreme individualism and extreme collectivism; he himself has described his point of view as that of critical realism, though to many it seems as though he approaches a sociological subjectivism. Society is to him a dynamic organization of subsidiary organizations. It is not composed of individuals, but of associations, that is, of organized individuals. Between the organizations exists a mutual interdependence, a reciprocal relationship, a social Consensus, of which Comte, Mill, Ward, Karejev, and others speak. To be sure, we dare not identify this Consensus with the concept of equilibrium. In the last analysis, however, the individual must be the unit of society, and by way of analysis, we achieve finally an individual point of departure, an individual consciousness, for a social consciousness does not exist. Since we now possess facts, we try to conceive of them psychologically. The social explanation generally implies a psychological explanation. Since the fundamental social factors are individuals, psychology is the direct foundation of sociology. Social

phenomena are at the same time psychological phenomena, but sociology studies in them only what makes them social, historic. Man is certainly by nature a *zoon politikon*, but our consciousness, which is given us directly, justifies us in assuming that the cognition of the individual is of equal value with the cognition of the group, society, and that it must precede it. And thus in the history of sociology is reflected, for Masaryk as for Comte, the real history of the human spirit.

Although Masaryk followed the English and French tendency toward positivism, he attempted to overcome both the scepticism of Hume and the positivism of Comte. He laid great weight upon their efforts to find the evidential basis of all knowledge, but tried also to go beyond them. According to Hume, the only science which deserves our confidence is mathematics. All other sciences, empirically grounded, do not achieve a scientific basis, because we nowhere, while seeking the nature of things and their causes, arrive at purely mathematical evidence, never recognize the real origin of things.

Masaryk succeeded in overcoming the scepticism of Hume, taking the position that Hume was unjustified in claiming that only mathematics is certain, that indeed our empirical knowledge is also logically justified. We achieve knowledge of final causes not only through long experience, that is, through psychology, but also often on the basis of a single case which allows us to see cause and effect, and this conclusion is the result of logical thought, genuine judgment (cf. *Počet pravděpodobnosti a Humeova skepsis*, 1883. *The Theory of Probabilities and Hume's Scepticism*.)

Masaryk also overcame Comtian positivism, which had not sufficiently stressed a number of facts without which a positivistic philosophy is untenable. It is

known that Comte excluded psychology from his hierarchy of sciences. But our consciousness, our ethical perceptions, our religious emotion are facts, and these facts of inner experience cannot be excluded from a positivistic philosophy. It is of course necessary to utilize the scientific method in psychology, but not a mathematical method, as Herbart wished, but an empirical one.

With respect to religion, also, Masaryk vanquished positivism. For Comte, religion was only a myth; for Hume, philosophy was religion. Mill, in his *Three Treatises on Religion*, showed the possibility of a religion which was not to be compared with science. According to him, religion does not claim to offer final causes, but claims rather that we cannot recognize them. Masaryk, on the other hand, in his *Philosophy of Religion*, shows that positivism is too strictly prohibitive as toward religious questions. No one can prohibit the search for ultimate causes. Positivism conceives of religion in too purely intellectual terms; religion is also a ritual and a moral code. To Masaryk, religion is not a completed thing. It is necessary, to be sure, to differentiate between the religion of the Church and religion in Masaryk's sense. The religion of the Church does not satisfy; it is otherworldly, and is vanquished by life. The other realms of cultural achievement (philosophy, art, science, business, medicine, education) have escaped from the leadership of the Church; the same process will occur with regard to religion itself. Science and philosophy are in conflict with the religion of the Church, but not with religion itself. Religion must, like all else, be considered from a genetic point of view. The religion of the Church is one stage of religious development; religion must be carried on to a higher stage, led to completion, to the stage of a scientific

religion. There are not varieties of truth, but one truth only, that of science, critically tested and accepted. The religion of the modern world must rest on scientific truth, on conviction, not on faith. Masaryk thus attempts to correct Comte and his followers with the evolutionary point of view of Spencer, adapting it to the sphere of religion. On this subject, Masaryk writes beautifully and convincingly in all his books, indicating that it is to him a problem of vital importance—especially in the important volume *V boji o náboženství* (*The Battle over Religion*), 1904, as well as in *Přehled nejnovější filosofie náboženství* (*Introduction to the Most Recent Philosophy of Religion*), 1905, *Intelligence a náboženství* (*Intelligence and Religion*), 1907, and *Věda a církev* (*Science and the Church*), 1908.

These views of Masaryk deserve extended consideration, that it may be shown how to him every abstract problem was at the same time a concrete one, and thus a practical one. Alvin John, the editor of the *New Republic* (American), has written very correctly in his comment on Masaryk's book *Russia and Europe* that Masaryk is at the same time philosopher and propagandist. In fact, he never philosophizes for philosophy's sake. Philosophy was to him always a function of life, directed particularly to the pressing problems and needs of life in general and national life in particular. As soon as he became interested in philosophy, he felt that there could be no rest until he had made this philosophy, which had brought order and reason into his own life, a principle of collective direction and organization.

It is impossible to construct a harmonious philosophy of life without a scientific knowledge of individual and collective psychology. For these are the two chief moving factors in social development. If philosophy is to be of practical service to society and the individual, in concrete, for

Czech society and the Czech individual, it is necessary to base it on scientific knowledge of Czech society, and its significant social phenomena, and on scientific knowledge of the significant individuals who are shaped by, and shape, the course of Czech development. For this reason, Masaryk composed his sociological works, which were to point the direction of development. Sometimes they deal with actual social phenomena, as for example, the book on suicide (1881, Czech edition, 1904), which furnishes a model for a monograph in sociology, and in which he deals with the physical and psychic causes, enumerates the different classes of suicides, gives a short history of this interesting social phenomenon, defines the relation of civilization to suicide, and concludes with a consideration of therapeutic measures. In other cases, his books deal with whole social movements, as for example his well-known *Philosophical and Social Foundations of Marxism* (1899, Czech edition 1898). Again, he examines in a group of books the course of Czech history: *Česká otázka* (*The Czech Problem*), 1895, *Naše nynější krise* (*Our Present Crisis*), 1895; and describes in other books (*Jan Hus*, 1903, 1923, *Karel Havlíček*, 1896, 1904, 1920) outstanding Czech personalities, who combine in themselves typical Czech characteristics.

Thus Masaryk led the Czechs away from speculative Hegelian-Herbartian thought, and brought them to patient study of the history and social aspects of Czech national life; he taught them to recognize the individual and the collective factor in Czech life, that they might create a new Czech psyche, a new family, a new national society, which would comprise all that was typically Czech, all that had found expression in Hus, Chelčický, Komenský, Havlíček and Palacký, and thus prepare the way for a new Czech future.

He is also anxious to see the relationship

with the other Slavic peoples, the relationship of the Czech problem to the Slavic problem, founded on reality and actuality, on definite knowledge. This desire explains his *Slovanské studie* (*Slavic Studies*), and in the year 1913, he published his great book *Russia and Europe*, on the eve of the war, at just the historic moment when Russia was to draw the attention of the whole civilized world. In this, his most mature book, he tries to conceive of Russia, not from the outside, as did B. A. Leroy-Beaulieu, and also not as something which exists outside Europe, but inwardly and in essence, by penetrating the spirit. Here is something that is European, which has the same character and qualities, but which is still in the period of childhood, which has not yet assimilated Europe, has not yet become an integral part of Europe. He tries to understand Russia through its literature, and to make it intelligible to Europe, especially by means of the literature which is saturated with Russian history and religious philosophy, and which thus explains the development of historico-philosophical and religio-philosophical ideas. For he knows well that these ideas and their evolution form one of the most important components in social development. The Russian problem is of general human significance, for it comprises the problem of democracy versus theocracy, which is at the same time the central principle of modern social development in general.

In his book, *The New Europe*, he tries to solve the Czech problem, not only for Czech society and for the Slavic peoples, but as a part of the whole European problem, in its international significance.

It is worth noting that Masaryk, in this book (the concluding chapter but one), refers to the problem of the revolution and attempts to reach an ethical solution for this problem that, before as well as during

the war, disturbed so many of the Russian revolutionary spirits. His point of view is that, insofar as humanitarian ethics grants the justifiability of killing, it permits self-protection against compulsion and violence. Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance is mistaken. Defense in case of necessity, protection of one's own life and that of others, and protection of general, and especially of moral and spiritual interests against the force of the ruling classes is not only permissible, but is in fact a duty. Divine-right absolutism was and is, as shown by experience, despotism; it is therefore justifiably attacked by democracy. Revolution may be a justified means of democracy. The true revolution is, to be sure, a reforming revolution, and so the defenders and promulgators of revolution always stress the necessity of intellectual preparation for revolution. The revolutionary must himself think, feel, and live progressively and democratically, if he claims the right of deciding the life or death of others. Democracy involves not only justice but responsibilities, for it is not only the political system of universal suffrage, but a new philosophy, a new mode of living as well. Masaryk had earlier dealt to some extent with these burning questions, especially in his *Philosophical and Social Foundations of Marxism*, and in the *Ideals of Humanity*.

Masaryk was not only the first in Bohemia to spread theoretical sociological knowledge; his personality was the center from which thousands of stimuli went out into Czech life, he encouraged many intellectual beginnings. With Kaizl he spread the first knowledge of Comte in Bohemia; at his direct or indirect stimulation, significant treatises in sociology were translated from other languages (those of Comte, Spencer, Giddings, Kidd), and in his periodicals, *Athenaeum* and later *Náše doba*, reference was made to numerous

works in the field of sociology, and the Czech scientific public was brought into touch with the foreign developments in this field. [Under his influence, also, other reviews (*Rozhledy*, *Literární Listy*, later *Česka mysl*, *Česká revue*, *Sborník věd státních a právních*, *Obzor národohospodářský*) turned their attention to sociology and oriented themselves in the criticism of sociological literature.] The generation of the 'nineties grew up under the influence of this steadily increasing interest in social problems; sometimes they took an active part in the social movement, again they turned in their literary work from simple externals and concerned themselves with showing the influence of social forces and the social milieu on individual fate (for example, Svoboda, Šlejhar, Mrštík, Čapek and others). There was also an effort to introduce sociology into the high schools.

A number of intellectuals worked along the same lines as Masaryk, some in the field of general sociology, some in the special social sciences. Břetislav Foustka, Professor at the University of Prague, started directly from Masaryk's humanitarian sociology. His work, *Slabí v lidské společnosti* (*The Weaknesses of Human Society*) does not so much present a new and independent sociological theory as it concerns itself with social eugenics and social theory. In this book Foustka examines the soundness of the pessimistic philosophy of the decline of peoples, deals fully with the factors of degeneration, studies the various marks of degeneration and of the cultures themselves, considers the tendencies making for a further development of humanity, denies the view which sees in a humanitarian policy toward the weak a source of degeneration, declares decisively and convincingly against alcoholism and prostitution, and sees the chief hope for the success of the battle against degeneration in carrying out

the ideals of pure humanity. Having chosen, from the wide range of the social studies, this rather narrow sphere for his theoretical and practical activity, he is naturally led, in his two further works, by his humanitarian sympathies to deal with the weakest of the weak, the child and the laborer. Like Masaryk, Foustka finds himself led by his study of sociology, not so much into pure theory as toward various concrete problems and to eager public activity in reforming and in clarifying social theory.

Another member of Masaryk's school is Doctor M. Chalupný, in whose books scientific Czech literature has found its first systematic sociology. He early (1905) wrote a sociological treatise which he called *Introduction to Sociology*, in which, however, he dealt only with certain aspects of social statics. His chief service to Czech sociology is his far-reaching work, *Sociology* which is divided into fifteen parts, of which as yet only five have appeared: "Foundations," as the first part of the general sociology, then "Human Evolution" as the fifth part, both as parts of social statics. "Social Factors" and "Social Products" form parts three and four, and finally the "History of Sociology" up to Comte, as the first volume of the second part. In the first part, where he gives a definition of sociology—it is to him the science of civilization—he refutes the objections to sociology, and then defines its field of study and its relation to the other sciences. His placing of sociology in the hierarchy of abstract sciences is entirely original—he puts it between biology and psychology. In its material, it combines that of psychology and that of the natural sciences, the subjective and the objective point of view. According to Chalupný, the mutual relation between sociology and psychology is just the reverse of what is customarily

thought, instead of psychology forming a connecting link between biology and sociology, sociology is itself the connecting link. Logic in turn is the connecting link between mathematics and psychology, and thus the hierarchy is completed—mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology, psychology, logic—in a logical fashion. As for the position of sociology, Chalupný has taken an attitude similar to that of the representatives of the so-called bio-social theory (de Roberty, Izoulet, and de Greef), from which they, however, have drawn no consequences for their hierarchy of the sciences. The second part of the "Foundations" is taken up with methodological discussions. In "Human Evolution," he first explains the concept of evolution, which means to him formative change, and differentiates it from the purely theoretical concept of evolution as progress, in which practical factors are taken into consideration, that is, the valuation of change and its results. He then turns to a history of both concepts, and proves empirically that the same four fundamental laws of development appear in the various concrete and special functions and forms of civilization; then proceeds to an abstract analysis of these laws (the laws of isolation, of relative progress, of retroactive influence, and of objectivation), and to a sketch of the relation of sociological evolution to biological and psychological; he then comes to the consequences of these laws of evolution, of which the most interesting is the knowledge of the relation of the individual to society. In the third part, he defines the concept and the system of statics, and deals with the natural and cultivated or social factors. Chalupný's standpoint is purely objective in the methodological sense; he comes to his work without all of the hypotheses taken over from the other sciences. Thus he

does not belong to the schools of sociology which are oriented toward the natural sciences or toward a special social science, but belongs rather among the sociologists who are characterized mainly by the noetical orientation of their work. Chalupný is also, like Masaryk, a critical realist. When he deals with the relation of the individual to society, he states clearly that he considers neither the philosophy of extreme individualism nor that of extreme collectivism correct. Individual and society are both primary units, the growth of individual as of collective consciousness takes place according to the same laws. The problem is only to limit mutually the influence of the two factors, not to oppress the one by the other, but to grant both a proportionate development, and to make them coöperate so far as possible.

The fourth part of Chalupný's sociology deals with the dynamics of civilization. It is divided into three volumes, the first two of which are to deal with the forms, the third with the sociological functions. The volume which has already appeared contains the first part of the discussion of social forms, and in addition, the introduction to the whole fourth part. In it, the author sketches a systematic arrangement of the aspects of civilization, and then considers more nearly the concept and the content of the various categories in their mutual relations, as well as in relation to the whole of civilization. The volume which has already appeared deals with technique, economic organization, language, art, and theory.

As for the history of sociology, Chalupný holds that scientific sociology was first founded by Saint Simon and Comte; still, almost the whole first volume of his history is devoted to the period before Comte, the period of preparations, of beginnings and attempts, a sort of prehistoric period

in the science of civilization. The first part (the ancient period) gives a picture of Asiatic and Greek sociological thought in the period before Christ and at the end of the ancient period (the ideas of Jesus, Paul, Strabo, Galen, and the Roman juristic authors). The second part (modern times to the establishment of sociology) deals with the first precursors in the Middle Ages, with the beginnings and main tendencies of modern sociological development up to Vico, the first sociologist, the clarifying and critical thought in England and France before the French Revolution, the beginnings of sociological thought in Germany, the period of the French Revolution, and the immediate predecessors of Comte, and concludes with a chapter on Saint Simon and Comte.

In addition to the works already mentioned in the field of general sociology, Chalupný has published a number of studies dealing with particular problems, of which, as the most interesting, may be mentioned *Úkol českého národa* (*The Czech Problem*), *Národní povaha česká* (*The Czech National Character*), *Havlíček, Český stát z hlediska sociologie* (*The Czech State from the Standpoint of Sociology*), *Přední tvůrci našeho národního programu* (*The Leading Creators of our National Program*), *Právní filosofie V. S. Solovjeva* (*The Legal Philosophy of Solovjeva*), *Studium sociologie v Americe a u nás* (*The Study of Sociology Here and in America*), *Advokát a advokacie* (*The Barrister and the Legal Profession*), *Jan Žižka*, etc.

Another Czech sociologist, also a pupil of Masaryk, is Doctor Edvard Beneš, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Czech Republic. Among his numerous writings, those especially deserving of mention are his *Stručný nástin vývoje moderního socialismu* (*Outlines of the Development of Modern Sociology*), *Le problème autrichien et la question tchèque*, in which he still

favors the Austro-Hungarian federation, in direct opposition to the revolutionary appeal to the Entente powers, the famous and successful *Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie*, and in the field of theoretical sociology, especially his study *Strannictví* (*The Party System*). The latter is a study of that much-discussed problem, concerning which as yet so little of a purely theoretical and general character has been done in sociology. Beneš' book is a study from the static point of view, which first examines the sociological laws according to which parties develop in the masses, and points out the general characteristics of the party system. It further examines critically the various theories concerning the development of parties in order to discover whether a single principle determining their formation can be found, investigates the purposes and the aims of political parties, their mutual relations, their functions, their organization, and finally, so far as possible, differentiates them from other similar social groups, such as classes, factions, sects.

Beneš is too much absorbed in the pressing needs of Czech national life to devote himself to pure theory, but he has attempted to establish exact scientific foundations for that sphere of activity in the national movement to which Fate has allotted him. Politics and political leadership have become his profession, and his scientific work has been in the field of political theory and political problems. In addition to those already named may be mentioned *Povaha politického strannictví* (*The Nature of the Political Party System*—an extension of *Strannictví*), *Válka a kultura* (*War and Culture*), *Smysl československé revoluce* (*The Nature of the Czechoslovakian Revolution*), *Zahranitní politika a demokracie* (*Foreign Policy and Democracy*), *Nesnáze demokracie* (*The Problems of Democracy*). His political theory is neither

metaphysically nor psychologically oriented, as is the case, for example, with Tarde, Ward, Baldwin, nor biologically, as with Spencer, Gumpłowicz, Schäffle, Liliensfeld and the members of the anarchistic school, nor one-sidedly juristic, as with most of the German political writers, but strictly sociological, based rather on Comte and Masaryk.

Politics is for Beneš a social activity having the purpose of so shaping the social milieu that men can through it so far as possible satisfy their needs and desires. At different times this organization of the milieu has taken on different forms, dependent on the mutual valuations of men. As the value of the individual personality rose or declined, the milieu was reshaped, so that the preponderant advantage was either with a minority of the people, or was extended more and more broadly. Aristocracy of every kind shaped the milieu for a numerically very small class. Democracy demands an activity of the leaders directed toward the creation and furthering of the general welfare, so that the needs of all citizens will be satisfied.

Beneš reckons with both the individual and the social factor (in contrast, for example, to Durkheim, who stresses only the latter), thus adding psychology to sociology. At the same time, he realizes how political events are determined by the social factor, recognizing this in its full importance and avoiding the one-sidedness of the socialistic or juristic school or the believers in the so-called 'Machtpolitik.' With regard to the individual factor, he does not forget that one must take into account not only knowledge and reason, but also many irrational factors—it is scarcely necessary to emphasize the rôle in politics of anxiety, of the fear of ridicule, of desire for possession, representation, for conflict itself, the desire to stand out—thus showing himself quite in accord with

the modern psychologists or sociologists like Thorndike, (Mc?) Dougall, Freud, V. Pareto, R. Michels, etc.

Beneš thus answers the central question of every sociological theory—which is the constituting and regulating factor in cultural movement, the individual or the group?—that it is both. Accepting neither extreme individualism nor extreme collectivism, he takes the reconciling and harmonizing point of view of critical realism. That is his most characteristic trait as sociologist.

This trait is again exemplified in his refusal to accept either pure intellectualism or pure emotionalism; to him, realism implies a harmony between reason and emotion, and the proper attitude toward the external world is that of the harmonized personality. If the politician is too much scientist, too much analyst and intellectual, he is unable to coöperate, to create for the future, to see the significance of events, to plan far-seeing projects. He is a narrow, dull politician, without intuition and driving power. If he is, on the other hand, too much guided by intuition and emotion, too torn by his synthetically perceiving and extremely individualistic spirit, he goes seeking after phantoms and plans impossible schemes.

This brings us to the philosophical foundation of Beneš' political theory. To him, politics was always a struggle for the correctly balanced recognition of the existing reality of today and the potential reality of tomorrow. Political struggle is primarily the mighty struggle for understanding of that age-old philosophical problem of where reality is actually concealed, how it is to be ascertained, what is the actual fact and what only the human imaginings of this or that individual, what the exaggerations of uncritical politicians or the uncritical mass, and how to react to

such demonstrations and to such demonstrated facts. A good practical politician should have an extremely well-informed sense of this problem, and must be trained in philosophy. Only when reality is properly understood and valued is it possible to react properly to the different manifestations of social and political life, or, to put it simply, to play the game of politics.

The difference between the different kinds of politics is in the last analysis philosophico-noetical. The relation of East to West and that of the Slavs to Western Europe is in large measure a philosophical and noetical problem.

When Beneš emphasizes so strongly that politics must use scientific methods in investigating the maze of social phenomena, in order to recognize political reality, that it is a struggle for the exact and clear creative expression of potential developments, of future eventualities, a struggle of our emotions and wishes to ascertain and understand the feelings and desires of all others, in short, a struggle for real harmony between the scientific and artistic elements in political life, there is reality in his conception. For he clearly understands the function of political activity and its significance, especially in democracy. He knows that we are now for the first time training ourselves in democracy and struggling for it, that we find ourselves in the transition from monarchist-aristocratic society to democratic society. And leaders are necessary in this transition. Democratic institutions are not enough, there must also be men who are saturated with the ideals of democracy, who live, not at the cost of others, but for the welfare of themselves and others. Such men are as yet unknown. Society can get along with inferior institutions, but not with inferior men. And so the problem

of democracy is primarily a problem of education for democracy, a question of tradition.

Beneš bears the mark of critical realism also in his sociological monograph *Město* (*The City*), his book *Filosofie mravnosti* (*The Philosophy of Morals*), his treatise *K psychologii doby* (*Concerning Contemporary Psychology*), and in his lesser writings *Současné názory mravní* (*Contemporary Moral Philosophy*), *Základy mravnosti* (*The Foundations of Morals*), *Mravní výchova ze stanoviska sociologického* (*Moral Training from the Sociological Point of View*), T. G. Masaryk, *filosof synergismu*, *The Sociology of Childhood*, and *The Ideological Foundations of Popular Education*. In the monograph *Město*, he studies the material, economic, social, political, and individual-psychical conditions of the social phenomenon which is called city life, the essential characteristics of which he sees in the individualizing, rationalizing, and solidarizing tendency. In the *Filosofie mravnosti*, he analyzes the biological, psychological and sociological foundations of morals, which is to him a social phenomenon, having like all other social phenomena its objective and subjective side, its physico-psychical and social factors.

Other sociological schools than that of critical realism have found followers in Bohemia. A. Uhlíř, for example, is a student of Durkheim, that is, a believer in sociological objectivism (cf. especially his work *Soziální filosofie*). For him, as for Durkheim, the social phenomenon is essentially different from the individual-psychic. When the consciousnesses of individuals ally and combine socially, when they become united and amalgamated, then the characteristics of the individual merge into social characteristics. The collective consciousness, while it is a social synthesis of the combined individuals, is also something differ-

ent and more than the simple subjective psyche. Thus objective reality cannot be explained by the general laws of subjective processes, but only by conscious social co-operation; not only that all social institutions have developed out of this co-operation—be they religious, ethico-legal, economic, or even those of art or speech, which are all the outward forms and symbols of collective consciousness—but even the perceptual thinking of the individual is conditioned by the social reality. Human understanding is the synthetic expression of an ideal world, which society has constructed in its collective consciousness. The latter consists of the system of social concepts, which are also the concepts in terms of which individual thinking is done. The human intellect is dominated by certain general concepts, of time, space, relationship, cause. Uhlíř explains in his *Soziální filosofie* the social origin of these categories. In general, to be sure, the higher forms of psychic activity, which society forms and develops in the individual, the general religious and scientific ideas, the foundations and emotions upon which our moral life is based are not conceivable without an organic psychical foundation, but they develop only in the collective consciousness, the individual being only the instrument of expression. The group determines the direction of the individual consciousness, but this determinism gives the human being greater freedom than the determinism in the world of organic and material phenomena. The truth, then, upon which all thinking is based, is created by impersonal, objective, necessary, and uniformly valid concepts.

Sociological objectivity in the modified form of Giddings has, with certain changes, also found an echo in Czech sociological literature. For Giddings, both the individual and society are active as

well as passive. The primary factor is, however, the aggregation; primitive social formation arises naturally and develops into association as soon as the consciousness of kind appears. But later also, the behavior of the individual is not purely original and voluntary, it is conditioned by the folk mind, traditions, and all that which society has created in its development. This interpretation is accepted by O. Jozifek, with his concept of social consciousness which corresponds fully to the Giddings consciousness of kind. His was a keen and original intellect, whose fruitful work was unfortunately early brought to a close by illness (his death occurred in 1919). His writings include *O jednotném názoru politickém* (Unified Political Philosophy), *Sociologie*, *Modráčková teorie pokroku* (Modráček's Theory of Progress), *Společenské vědomí* (Social Consciousness), *Vývoj charakteru—vývoj společnosti* (The Development of Character—the Development of Society), *Vznik protestantského člověka* (The Rise of the Protestant), as well as the pamphlets: *Jaký je zděděný charakter českého národa* (The Inherited Traits of the Czech People), *Karlínsko*, *Dvě generace Zeithammerů* (Two Generations); *České strany politické* (Czech Political Parties).

The fundamental psychological concept which, according to Jozifek, stands behind all economic as well as other activity of the individual, is social consciousness, which is the primary emotional factor which, along with material factors, has been influential in the formation of actual societies. This social consciousness appears first at a definite stage of development, at that moment when the group has moved, in inevitable progress, beyond the nomadic stage, and the stage of pastoral-agrarian feudalism and begins civilized life. When the individual begins here to labor regularly, it does not occur spontaneously, but is a result of natural selection, which begins at this point to shape the

personality of the individual. Economic life, the art of war, the church, the constitution, are results of the activity, not of random individuals, but of those individuals who are carefully chosen by natural selection. Up to this point, the individual as a unit of society has been shaped by a narrow environment—his own society. Social progress consists of the evolution of the moral character of the individual, which goes on within the boundaries of this society. The behaving unit is neither society nor the nation, but the individual, to whom falls the problem, after the appearance of a permanent peace in the land, of creating economic life, art, the church, science, the art of war—in short, civilization. National culture is the result of uncounted emotions, which became possible in the group after the stage of agrarian feudalism, and were experienced by individuals chosen through natural selection. That they began to act in this way (for example, ethically) is not the result of hunger, nor of Divine command, of neither artistic intuition nor an inborn love of one's fellow men, nor even of reflections concerning the advantages flowing out of self-denial and social coöperation. This conduct was motivated by the desire for a greater measure of self-expression.

Thus the principle of historical evolution is the individual deed, which is brought into the stream of general cultural activity through the operation of natural selection. The choice of personalities is the foundation of social progress and the social force creating a new civilization is simply the awakened subjectivism of some one society.

Jozifek develops his theory of Czech history on the basis of this philosophy, pointing to the religious, economic, constitutional, and pedagogical efforts of the time of Hus as the result of the subjective ac-

tivity of a few generations. The moving force of the Reformation (not only the Czech, but that of Europe in general) was the creative desires of men who had found their field of work. The Czech cultural milieu was confused by the Counter-reformation; there are today in Czech national life no men with dominating wills, as there are in the other Protestant countries.

One other name must be added to the discussion of the Czech counterpart of the Giddings school, that of Ladislav Kunte (*Sociologie a její praktické použití—Sociology and its Practical Implications*). Giddings refers to the transition from the anthropogenous group through the ethnological to the demagogic; Spencer of the transition from the military to the industrial type; Kunte differentiates the type of an authoritative society from that of an individualistic or representative. In the authoritative society, the individual is obedient without deliberation, subordinate to the authority which holds the group together, since at this stage, society could not otherwise hold together, in spite of the need of union or of coöperation, because there are no altruistic customs. At this stage, it is no mere phrase when the leader says 'L'etat, c'est moi.' Society exists through his will, it thinks with his intellect, it is through him that society is a whole, a unit. The representative society, on the other hand, is characterized by the development of the individuality of its mem-

bers. The unifying force in such a society is altruistic habits—a subjective bond. Society can progress only as the individual progresses; society limits the eccentricity of individualism, at the same time that it enlarges it through socialism. Its discipline keeps the individual within the boundaries set by the existing conditions of the society. Kunte applies his theory to Czech life and points out that Czech society corresponds to the authoritative type, but shows a marked tendency toward a transition in political life, religion, ethics, family life, education, science, art, and economic life. His sociological theories are pointed by a glance at the reform of Czech life. Kunte's other books deal with concrete social problems, pressing questions of the day, and solve them in scientific fashion: *Socialisace* (*Socialization*), *Vznik nového náboženství* (*The Development of a New Religion*), *Náboženství, socialismus, národ* (*Religion, Socialism, Nation*).

To complete the picture of Czech sociology, it would be necessary to mention all of those who have worked exclusively in the sphere of this or that special sociological discipline or the border sciences, especially in anthropology, ethnology, population theory, moral statistics, the philosophy of history, social eugenics, and social pathology, in all of which Czech science has achieved success and valuable results. But that would lead us into a new and extensive field of study.

THE CLEVELAND PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

The presidential addresses of the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, and the American Political Science Association will be given on Tuesday evening with NEWTON D. BAKER presiding: HOWARD W. ODUM, *Regional and Folk Conflict as a Field for Sociological Study*; MATTHEW B. HAMMOND, *Economic Conflict as a Force Making for Economic Peace*; BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, *The Importance of the "More than" in Social Science Education*.

A KARL MARX FOR HILL BILLIES

PORTRAIT OF A SOUTHERN LEADER

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IN THE noble discipline of political science there has lived and practiced in these United States no more astounding savant than the late Junior Senator from Arkansas, Jeff Davis the Little, Karl Marx to Hill Billies. He was no replica of the patriarch of the Confederacy and remains unadored of the U.D.C. Professional man of the people, thrice governor, twice elected to the Senate, it was at one time the dearest wish of good Arkansawyers to see their tribune of haybinders matched in joint debate with Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States.

Opposed by almost every newspaper in the state he liked to quote their description of him as a "carrot-haired, red-faced, loud-mouthed, strong-limbed, ox-driving mountaineer lawyer that has come to Little Rock to get a reputation—a friend to the fellow that brews forty-rod bug juice back in the mountains." He loved to quote it because the ring of invective had a mouth-filling sound and because it won him votes.

Dead these seventeen years, Jeff Davis possesses a name that Arkansawyers, usually an outspoken race, mention before strangers with bated breath. In Arkansas one must first learn the politics of an acquaintance before deigning to criticize or to blame. For every man who loved not Jeff Davis the Little, hated him with a holy passion. A man of might in the days when politics was politics, he evoked a hierarchy of angels and demons in which there were no neuters. At every cross roads and hamlet in that most berhymed

and bedeviled of commonwealths he wrestled mightily with powers and principalities, spirits of light and of darkness. For Jeff Davis divided in order to rule and stirred up strife that victory might light on his banner. Since his day Arkansas has elevated to the governorship a banker and a farmer, sundry lawyers, a professor of sociology from the state university with his Ph.D., and a travelling salesman; has sent to the Senate the redoubtable Joe T. and Thaddeus the Terrible. But the land of the Slow Train, where fact becomes folklore if it is allowed to simmer over night, has produced and will, God be thanked, produce no more consummate master of politics than Jeff the Little.

In a state that possessed no aristocracy against whom they might rebel Davis led a revolt of the dispossessed poor whites. Whoso would understand politics beneath the Smith and Wesson line must cease from the contemplation of Bishop Cannon to give his days and nights to the lives of Vardaman of Mississippi, Pitchfork Ben Tillman and Cole Blease of South Carolina, Tom Watson of Georgia, and Jeff Davis of Arkansas. Before the Civil War the governors of South Carolina were good Episcopalians and held with the speaker on the floor of the Virginia legislature that "It is conceivable that a man may go to heaven by another route than the Episcopal Church but I am sure a gentleman would choose no other." After the struggle her rulers came from frontier Methodist and Baptist stock. The toad under the harrow had stood it long enough. The wool hat boys were climbing into the

saddle and when the carpetbaggers released their weakened grasp hell began to pop all over the South. It was farmer against planter, common man against enfeebled aristocrat, Populist against Democrat, rustics against city dudes. But if Arkansas had no aristocracy to overturn, its towns had grown up and were developing a professional class of lawyers, doctors, merchants, and absentee landlords rising mildly above the dead level of reconstruction poverty. The capital had already grown into the wonder and envy of the haybinder. As Davis was to tell them, the horny-handed sunburned sons of toil yearly pulled the bell ropes over old Jerry only to have the price of their fleecy product set by the gamblers of the New York Cotton Exchange. Things were not well. And if they were wrong, a conflict must be precipitated or an ogre must be improvised. No discussion of economic principles would win votes but to dramatize a struggle, that was different. The material was at hand. The terror of the nineties, the trust, was beginning to be noised abroad. It was not difficult to inspire in the minds of simple rustics the fear of machines, rings, pools, railroads, mergers, and combinations. Jeff carried on a whirlwind campaign against industrialization, corporate business, and capital in a state which needed all three and had not the remotest chance of getting them. In no abstruse terms of economics he led the red neck and the patched britches brigade on a holy crusade against the malefactors of great wealth. Instead of seven against Thebes it was Arkansas against the trusts. Before he reached the Senate this Jeff the Giant Killer who had never heard of Karl Marx was to carry his truly grotesque version of the class struggle to the coves of all the mountains, forks of all the creeks, and banks of all the bayous in Arkansas.

In the South one must understand that

politics like agrarian religion is likely to be the outgrowth of poverty experience. A clear conscience and the witness of the spirit to the soul's salvation, things denied the wealthy, compensate the rustic for his ungained competence. Likewise the poor but honest yeoman of the plough arises on election day, and with the untainted ballot thrust in his hands by Democracy, strikes down the minions of pelf, pride, and plutocracy. What if for two years he hearkens with knitted brows to the gathering murmur of graft and boodle in the state house. Election day again rolls around and again the freeman strikes for his altars and his fires. There but needs arise each time some man of the people, nurtured on rock clad hills, trained at plow handles, and polished off within the law office of some county seat. Elected prosecutor, he becomes the stormy petrel of politics and proceeds judiciously to fill the jails of his district with Negroes until their feet stick out the windows. By this time he is being duly persecuted by the corporation, the whiskey gang, the pardon mill, the state house ring, and the text book trust; his good name is about to be taken from him or dragged in the mire, and his children are soon to be left orphans. There remains but one recourse; he must offer himself to the people, sacrifice himself on the altar of patriotism, hug all the darts of venom to his bosom that he may be seen of men and rewarded. And if in measured periods he pays sufficient tribute to pure southern womanhood, to noble men in gray with empty sleeves, he may carry his share of the burden for the machine and be duly rewarded from the public treasury. In a state where business, art, science, and letters open few avenues to wealth and prestige, politics has become a business. Men of keen and crafty intelligence after reading law waited carefully for the least prod from behind to flop into

the puddle of politics. Public office is a private trough, and if no great graft exists it is because no great wealth exists. Moreover, where there is found no alien strata in a megalopolitan complex, politicians remain closer to the people.

Nor in Arkansas politics have great slush funds proved necessary—even for purposes of corruption. Mightier than tons of publicity or high powered space in newspapers were leather lungs and the ability to travel day and night to attend the barbecues. Not a reading people, the Arkansawyers regarded over-much reliance on printed matter as a form of high-brow evasion. Better than a circus, they loved their political meetings and they wanted them hot. Not to meet an opponent in joint debate was cowardice of the highest order; to furnish forth to the audience a prepared effort was to invite both contempt and defeat. To omit the peroration to southern womanhood, the defiance to Negro equality, the apostrophe to Confederate valor, the homage to the horny handed sons of toil showed bad training but might be forgiven. But, while baring this devoted bosom to the arrows of political enemies, to fail to threaten with death any opponent who dared offer one insult to "my withered mother and the sweet little wife whose home I have mortgaged for this campaign"—such failure marked a man as no man, and defeat must be his portion.

For Arkansas lingers in the fields of romance and in its politics ogres, demons, and phantoms may be encountered on every hand. The state has never learned to laugh at itself and knows not the use of irony as a social corrective. It still winces under the implication of Thomas W. Jackson's *vade mecum* of the smoking car, *The Slow Train Through Arkansas*. It has never forgiven a native son, Opie Read, who somehow just missed greatness with his

gently ironic novels of Arkansas planters. When the Arkansas Advancement Association sought to have H. L. Mencken deported for the alien he is because of animadversions on the state, it was regretfully informed by Thaddeus the Terrible that the offender appeared to have been duly and legally born in Maryland Free State. No young Walter Hines Page has ever arisen in the state to scribble mummy letters, to picture the missionary society ladies as old hens around a puddle, and to raise the chant that the frying pan and the Confederate veteran must go.

Davis' life followed the pattern but like many a greater man luck made Jeff. At the age of sixteen he failed, to the great detriment of the state, of obtaining a scholarship to West Point because, among other things, he preferred to spell separate, "seperate." If it be true, as General Jackson once observed, "I would not give a damn for any soldier who cannot spell in more than one way," orthography was to prove even less of a necessity to an Arkansas politician. He failed to stay at the state university or Vanderbilt law school long enough to graduate. On his way to Vanderbilt, like any country boy, he took the wrong train out of Memphis and had to count ties back to the station. He was licensed to practice law at the age of nineteen, "his disabilities being removed." Prosecuting Attorney of the Fifth Judicial District at thirty, he ran for the office of Attorney General at thirty-six. Opposed by a Professor Goar, head of the Arkansas Law School, he fought a losing contest. Instruction had been given in favor of Goar in practically every County. Recognizing defeat before the Democratic convention Davis was planning to move to Oklahoma, the Mecca of disappointed Arkansawyers, when the luckless professor dropped dead addressing a meeting of voters. The state convention obligingly

furnished the obscure candidate for an obscure office a majority of one vote and unwittingly started Jeff Davis the Lesser on his meteoric rise.

Again fortune favored. The bucolic legislature of 1899 enacted a futile populist statute, the Rector Anti-Trust Law. As weird as any statute ever concocted in Kansas it provided that any corporation transacting business in Arkansas "that shall become a member of any pool or trust, shall be fined \$200 to \$500 for each day it operates." The blow to commence was staggering, but against the protests of the budding business men of the state Davis seized an opportunity to create an issue that would go home to the boys in the forks of the creek. He construed the law to apply to all corporations and associations and proposed to enter suit against every foreign chartered body in the state. The legislature appropriated \$5,000, and Jeff boasted: "I sued the Standard Oil Company, I sued the American Tobacco Company, the Continental Tobacco Company, the Cotton Oil Trust, I sued the express companies, I sued everything that looked like a trust. I sued them all." Because of their participation in rate associations, Attorney General Jeff extended the prosecution to all Insurance Companies operating in the State.

Every effort made by the now thoroughly frightened men of affairs to unscramble the scrambled eggs of business redounded to the credit of the tribune of the people. He sought strife, he provoked business men to ludicrous and unpolitic retaliations. On this issue he made the race for governor and carried the fight to "the one gallus boys that live up the forks of the creek and don't pay anything except their poll taxes." His ready power of invective and abuse drove several able men from the governor's race, and when the smoke rolled away over the carnage of

trusts he had carried all but one of seventy-five counties.

His election literally wrecked the organized political systems of half a century, demoralized and revolutionized the administration of public affairs, and wrought ruin in the established partisan order. Entering upon an audacious warfare against the old traditions he appointed to office men who could have expected no promotion under the old regime. "My friends are always right to me" became his oft repeated motto. "No man can be appointed to office under my administration unless he is a white man, a Democrat, and a Jeff Davis man."

From then on Jeff was never to lose a struggle so we may leave him on his uninterrupted march from victory unto victory while we ponder the bearing of his example on the processes of politics. Davis belonged to an old order, an order that southern liberals devoutly hope is passing. He would find no place in Professor Odum's *Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation*. He was of no ante bellum aristocracy, neither did he play Henry W. Grady to a conquering industrialism. He belonged neither to the old nor the new South; his intellect was neither conservative nor critical; it was the apotheosis of the poor white and spent itself in vulgar ridicule and war on phantoms. All the tricks that democracy gives play to in its leaders were his, and it is easy to dismiss him as a demagogue.

But Jeff had his *raison d'être* in a magnetic quality of personality and the appeal to the human element. Many a harassed governor of these states has given an apparent welcome to the poor man that comes into his office, but Davis could relieve his embarrassment and make the poorest and humblest feel at home. Driving along the county roads to the hustings he has stopped many a plodding farmer with:

"Captain, I would like to get a chew of hillside navy. My name is Governor Davis and I sure am glad to meet you." Politics dictated that his emotions rule his head, and Jeff's heart became his book of etiquette and his manners, the promptings of a rough and ready human nature. He ended by becoming the most miscible element in that fluid mixture called politics, and his democratic manner became an Arkansas sentiment, a belief, a creed, and a fetish. Today any Arkansas politician who could realize on the good will inherent in the trade name *Jeff Davis* would find his political fortune made.

He knew what it means to the common man to eat with the great ones of the earth. At the speakings with dinner on the ground the Governor walked around under stately oaks, ate pie at one place, custard at another, a slice of country ham, then a slice of chicken until he got around to more than a dozen places and announced at each that he had a good notion to telephone his wife to send his trunk out to Rosebud. Before he had finished two hundred farmers gathered around, admiringly watching the tribune of the people at his food. "I had rather eat turnip greens, hog jowls, and corn bread with you fellows out here around the wagon than go in the hotel and eat with the high-collared crowd." Returning on the train, he chuckled to his admiring associates: "I caught that entire crowd of farmers by staying out at that farm wagon, eating that good country grub, and bragging on Mr. Shirley's children."

Like Napoleon, Jeff knew that to decorate a private is to win the army. Singling out some man of the people Davis would learn his name in order to address him during his speech: "Just look at Uncle Jim Betts here, with his homespun clothes, with his home-knit socks. These are my kind of folks—fellows that chew

hill-side navy, smoke a corn cob pipe, and sing in the choir." . . . "I don't know that I will ever marry again, but if I do I am coming out here in the country and marry one of these big fat country girls that can cook an oven of hot biscuits, throw them up the chimney and run around and catch them before I can get my boots on." He ended many of his campaign speeches with an invitation to visit him at the governor's mansion. "If you red necks and hill billies ever come to Little Rock be sure and come to see me—come to my house. Don't go the hotels or wagon yards, but come to my house. If I'm not at home tell my wife who you are, tell her you are my friend and you belong to the sunburned sons of toil. Tell her to give you some hog jowl and turnip greens and we will eat eggs until we have every old hen on the Arkansas River cackling. She may be busy making soap but that will be all right."

There was a gusto about Davis; he played the demagogue but he liked it. It was not a distasteful business to him; it was glorious fun. Nor did he despise the people with whom he played the game. If the common people heard him gladly, let it be said he offered himself for their amusement—and his profit—gladly.

None knew better how to meet the embarrassed and inarticulate haybinders from the forks of the creek, to shake hands with their bedraggled wives and kiss their grubby children. His opinion that cotton should sell for fifteen cents sounded like an edict from the state. When he asked a farmer how his crops were growing, how many melons he had, how much hill-side navy he raised, the very pleiades twinkled. The Governor never spoke without a reference to his Confederate father, his wrinkled mother, his little wife, his twelve children, four dead, and his nine pointer dogs.

Jeff sensed the analogy with that tran-

scendant damagogue and called his wool hat brigade in jean pants the Old Guard. His closing appeal, still reverberates down the lanes of Arkansas politics: "If the Old Guard will rally around once more, if the boys in the hills will only touch hands with the boys in the valley, we will win one more victory for good government, and in the meantime whip these Yankees out on dry land and let them stink themselves to death."

He played an easy game. His appeal was to the back townships, the rustics and the bumpkins whom he sought to turn against the town dwellers. He ridiculed the harmless institutions of society until formal dress and bridge whist seemed crimes against nature. He described the mythical men of the cities as "the crowd that when they shake hands with you only give you the tips of their fingers . . . wear collars so high they can't see the sun, except at high noon, looking over their collars. . . . You can't tell from their tracks whether they are going or coming back." With many a homely and vulgar phrase he shook laughter from the bellies of haybinders and sent their old wool hats up among the trees until they looked like buzzards flying over. Withal in his many campaigns he averaged 61 per cent of the total vote of the state's 75 county seats and 71½ per cent of the vote of the 185 largest towns and cities. Like Chick Sale he proved that we have but recently moved in from the country.

Arkansas, to whose farmers money never talked except to say good bye, has been shown by the recent census to have the smallest amount of unemployment in the union. It is thus a state in which men work but not for gain. Jeff never expected nor did he long for a remedy for agrarian ills. His attack on the trusts was never in terms of economics. "Old Armour and Cudahy never raised a sow and pigs in

their lives, yet the price of meat is so high I can hardly buy breakfast bacon in Little Rock enough to support my family. I just buy one little little slice, hang it up by a long string and let each one of my kids jump up, grease their mouths and go on to bed." To the simple farmer in the river bottoms he described a visit to the New York Cotton Exchange. . . . "These men were sitting there tearing open telegrams and going yow, yow, yow. I could not understand what they said, but in less than five minutes a price had been posted and they had changed the price of cotton five dollars a bale all over the world. And had they ever grown a bale of cotton, my fellow citizens?"

"The Populist party advocated one of the grandest doctrines the world has ever known—that you can legislate prosperity into a country." But the Governor was happy and content to voice the unrest of a raw and raucous democracy. To have solved the ills of the body politic would have left Jeff without a mission and the hill billies without their safety valve.

In the rough and tumble hustings Negro baiting always proved a trump-card. President Roosevelt's visit furnished the Governor enough ammunition to win a dozen elections. Roosevelt was to speak on *Law Enforcement and Public Righteousness*. Gauging the audience, Jeff with characteristic audacity introduced him with a peroration to southern womanhood with its inevitable conclusion. "And, oh, Mr. President, when the husband or the brother, the father or the sweetheart of one of these angels of earth comes home in the evening and finds her in the throes of death, when he sees the cruel clutch mark on her snow white throat and watches the pulse beat grow fainter and fainter as the end draws near, there's not a law on the statute books of Arkansas to prevent him from avenging that crime at once and

without apology to any tribunal on the face of the earth."

An affront to Roosevelt's companion, Clayton, Arkansas' Reconstruction governor, he later magnified and capitalized in his campaigns, "The papers say that I did not treat the President courteously. I stayed with him all day. I showed him all the courtesy any official could show to another, but when we came to the banquet table I found that Powell Clayton was to eat at the same table and I said: 'Mr. President, I can not eat with that old one-armed villain; his hell hounds murdered my aunt in Little River County during Reconstruction.' I delivered the President to the banquet hall where the luncheon was being served and I said to the guard, 'Cut the ropes, let me out. My God, let me away from Powell Clayton and his nigger gang.'"

Called to account for a serious tactical error in race relations, Governor Davis added to jurisprudence a new doctrine of presumption of innocence. "But they say that I pardoned a Negro for assaulting a white girl. Gentlemen, I am a southern man imbibing all the traditions and sentiment of the southern people, and you know I had good reasons for so doing. In our country when we have no doubt about a Negro's guilt we do not give him a trial; we mob him and that ends it; and I want to say to you, my fellow citizens of Carroll County, that the mere fact that this negro got a trial is evidence that there was some doubt of his guilt."

Jeff's contributions to the science of penology are equally valuable and have been too long neglected by criminologists. On the eve of an election the legislature made an appropriation to cover a deficiency incurred by the state penal institutions. "Oh my fellow citizens, this penitentiary gang is mad today; they are mad as they can be. Why? Because I have de-

horned that crowd in Little Rock. . . .

One Saturday afternoon I felt a veto spell coming over me and I vetoed \$150,000 of this foolish, reckless appropriation before I went to supper; when I came back I vetoed a lot more. . . . I said to them: 'Gentlemen, you can steal what the convicts, eight hundred in number, make but I swear by all the gods in the calendar that you shall not steal and use in riotous living the money of the taxpayers of the people of Arkansas. If you can not make these convicts self-sustaining, you will have to get another Governor and another legislature before you can steal the tax money of the people of this state to support them.'"

It is doubtful if the criminologists fully realize the immense value of the power of pardon in politics. If an umbrageous citizenry can be kept silent, every pardon means a new block of votes. Jeff gave fair warning in his first campaign: "I promise you here and now that I will run the pardon mill fair and impartial and none but my friends need come around me begging for pardons." Charged with releasing nine hundred prisoners, many richly deserving punishment, whose reprieves were secured through pardon attorneys he evaded the issue and struck straight at the tear glands of his audience.

"Ladies, they call me the pardoning Governor of the State; I am glad to be called the pardoning Governor. I am glad that I have been able during my administration to lift so many shadows and sorrows from the hearts and homes of the people of my state. . . . My fellow citizens, never criticize a man because he is merciful. What is mercy? Mercy is God. God is Mercy. Without mercy we would have no God. The sunshine, the flowers, the fields, the trees, the brooks—everything in nature tells us in glad loving tones of God and his mercy. . . . I have a little boy at home eight years of age, God

bless his little soul. If he should get into trouble in after years and get into the penitentiary I would kiss the very feet of the governor who would give him a pardon. I would wash his feet with my tears. If it were your son, I could not write the pardon quick enough. Judge Wood said the other day that any old woman could get a pardon at my office who came there crying. I want to say to you my fellow citizens, that I thank God that my heart has not become so steeled, so cold and callous that the tears of the mother in Israel will not move me to pity. . . . God bless you old mothers in Israel and when you offer up your devotion tonight, if you can spare one moment, lisp a prayer for the pardoning governor of Arkansas. If you don't want your boys pardoned, don't come crying around my office because I can not stand it, and do not try to stand it."

In North Carolina every decent risqué joke is attributed to Senator Zeb Vance; in Arkansas every rough and ready political trick goes back to Jeff the Little. Campaigning against one Brother Adams, an ardent prohibitionist, Davis had a bottle of whiskey slipped in the brother's old grip. "Old Sodapop, when did you come to town? I can take two green persimmons and squeeze on you and make you so drunk you wouldn't know your heels from a shot gun. Open up your old grip and let the crowd see that whiskey." The whiskey was found and the crowd, glorying in their idol's gift for practical jokes, yelled for Jeff.

Politics according to Jeff possessed the rough and tumble of the frontier, a Rabelasian quality that accepted human nature and gloried in its crudities and vulgarisms. Campaigning against a bachelor, Jeff drove straight at old human nature. "Judge Bryant, you come up here on the platform; come up here where the ladies can see you. Ladies and gentlemen, I want to show you

the color of one man's hair that never hugged a woman in his life." Cowardice held no place in the hustings. "Bob Rogers, you threatened to kill me. I am not afraid of you. I can take a corn cob with a lightning bug on the end of it and run you into the river."

Of all southern politicians Jeff seemed less to fear the Methodist and Baptist political hierarchy. Excluded from fellowship in the Baptist church on serious charges, Jeff had more ammunition to sweep the state. "My fellow citizens, I was excluded from the Second Baptist Church of Little Rock. A lot of high combed roosters turned me out of the church for political purposes without a trial, without a hearing, thinking they could ruin me in that way; but when the little church at Russellville, where I was born and raised, heard of this indignity, this outrage, they sent for me to come home and join the church of which I had been a member for twenty years, and more than a hundred members were present when I was restored."

What if the charges were first preferred by a little country church at Monmouth Springs, manifestly lacking in high combed roosters; what if the charges were allowed to lay over until after the primary; what if a church committee delivered them to Governor Davis and took his written receipt; what if on the date of the trial he went on a fishing trip to Chicot County; what if only twelve persons were present at the historic restoration at the mother church; what if many of these were relatives; well, what of it? What the hell do you want for politics in Arkansas?

Jeff was doubly fortunate in the enemies he made. So astutely could he fan the flames of partisanship to unequal and unreasonable heat, that, all other expedients failing, he fell back on the cross of martyrdom. Asked why he supported Jeff, many

an honest native has answered: "Because he was persecuted all his life." In many of his campaigns when denounced in unmeasured terms for misrepresentation Davis failed to retaliate, neglected to fight back, to cut, stab or shoot—either with bullets or epithets. He simply and pathetically said to his audience that his opponent had been put in the race to kill him, that he knew his life was forfeit before the race was over. "But," said he about to die saluting them, "all I ask is that when I am dead you bury me in the old graveyard and write on my headstone the words: 'He died a martyr to the common people.' " And Jeff, master of the vulgar comic, never cracked a smile.

Jeff understood as well as any demagogue that politics is a matter of jockeying for alliances. "My friends are always right to me" he said but he was never averse to changing friends. His secret of success, as his colleague, Senator James P. Clarke, analyzed it, was that he never half-way fell out with anyone; he tolerated no concealed enemies or half-hearted friends. They were forced into the open. When a former ally took up service with the enemy Jeff ridiculed him into a state of complete helplessness. Like Wilson, Jeff's path was strewn with cast-off supporters, but, unlike Wilson, he was able literally to force reconciliations with any cast-off he needed. And then he so dealt with the erring one as to drive home the conviction that no resentment of past differences remained. He left no non-committal element in the state and he never courted sympathy. His enemies would never extend it, and his friends were bound by more virile and enduring forces.

Davis possessed no scholarship and expended no industry to acquire it. The curse of the southern politician, superficiality, bound him hard and fast. With an almost cynical clarity rarely met in

eulogy, his colleague, Clark, said in the Senate: "He was not a widely learned man nor did he desire to be. He was not willing to devote the time and self denial involved in acquiring familiarity with the views and methods of those who had gone before. He absorbed enough out of the general intelligence of the country to be fairly familiar with many of the leading questions of the day and could discuss them before an audience with a sufficient show of knowledge to impart all the lessons they seemed willing to absorb. He never concerned himself about mastering in full scope and detail great and absorbing questions since he felt that he could only make use of such aspects of it as his auditors were willing and desirous of understanding, and that he was therefore engaged in a wholly unprofitable service when he talked over their heads."

The gift of superficiality so valuable in Arkansas hustings was to prove rather too thin for even the greatest deliberative body in the world. His senate career, full of fireworks though it was, furnished an anticlimax. He had told his Arkansas audiences: "If you will send me to Washington I will let that gang know I am in town. I will pull off a speech that will knock down the cobwebs before I am there two weeks." Ignoring the conventions that demand silence and hard work from a new Senator for at least a year, Jeff, eleven days after being seated, delivered a philippic against the trusts and the complacent and conservative Senate. He ended with a fervid peroration to Arkansas. In an interview widely published he naïvely told the newspaper boys he had swept the cobwebs off the ceiling of the Senate Chamber. Although the Arkansas papers had always opposed him, they had paid Jeff the honor of taking him seriously. But now he became the sport of the metropolitan dailies to whom he was another of the

populist monstrosities occasionally spewed forth by the South and West. The echoes from the press goaded him to return again to the fray in the manner of the barbecue forums of Arkansas politics.

"But, Mr. President, insignificant as I am, let them sharpen their blade, for I will be here at the appointed hour and while here only God can stay my voice in behalf of organized, united labor and the yeomanry of America. . . . Let scavengers of plutocracy howl! Go! damnableimps of pelf and greed, I defy your torments! Tear to fragments my political career, if it comport with your execrable will; strifle and distort my every utterance; not satisfied if such be your brutal franzy, lash my poor form into insensibility; then if it be your further pleasure, gnaw from my stiffening limbs every vestige of quivering flesh; howl in wretched bestiality through my own innocent blood as it drips from your fiendish visages; drag then if you want what remains into the filth and vermin of your foul den and burn it upon the altar of Baal, or scatter it before the friendly winds of heaven to your betters, the carrion crows of the field. All that may they do and more if there yet be open further depths of infamy to a polluted, besotten press."

Davis was a type of the lazy and superficial orators with which the South has blessed the Senate Halls since the War. Before the Senate, in a eulogy of his colleague, Senator Clarke, who owed his election to Davis, continued his critical analysis with cold logic: "I happen to know that he was not satisfied with his career in the Senate. . . . When he first appeared in the Senate he was smarting under the resentment of wholesale and unwarranted attack that had been made upon him, and sort of retaliation seemed to linger with him and control his actions and expressions. . . . In the last days

of his life I found him more disposed to diligently investigate affairs of larger import than in former days, and I noticed an increasing absence of that intemperate form of expression which usually characterized his comment on official matters.

. . . . He said it was his purpose to take upon himself the task of mastering some of the problems of the day and he hoped to make himself useful in evolving and applying remedies of a substantial character.

. . . . I was much impressed with the belief that it was his fixed purpose to achieve a name here that would be creditable to him, and he knew affairs of this life well enough to know that he could only do this by the severest toil and the closest application to his duties. A large number of devoted friends reassured themselves with the conviction that he had a real capacity for statesmanship and that after he had achieved a position where his own tenure was secure and his apprenticeship ended, he would manifest the qualities of industry and constructive ability that would show him to be a real man among men in managing the affairs of the nation. The question may now never be answered to the satisfaction and acceptance of all."

Like Bryan, Secretary of State, Jeff spent most of his senatorial term recouping his private estate, seriously drained in many a campaign. Moreover, after denouncing the corruption and red tape of the Senate, Jeff had his wife and all his children placed on the Senate payroll as clerical help and laborers. None of them left their homes in Little Rock.

Times are changed now. The anti-trust law is a dead issue, forgotten long ago. Arkansas' great need now, and the eating clubs repeat it every Wednesday and the prayer meetings every Wednesday night, is fewer politicians and more business men. Arkansas is again hot foot on

the trail of the corporations, but this time she hopes to entice them into the state. Greater than the Governor, the greatest man in the state today is a power magnate, H. C. Couch, who told Hoover what to do about the Mississippi flood when he came South. H. L. Remmell, a Republican, constructor of the Remmell Dam, comes next. The University has published a bulletin on the "Need for Industry in Arkansas." The research was done by Professor Dickey but the foreword is by the University's astute president, J. C. Futrall. Hugh Hart has gone to the New York office of his insurance company at fabulous thousands of dollars a year salary. The state is beginning to regret its exported resources of man power and wish it might keep them at home. Professor Brough went on the Chatauqua circuit from the governor's chair to extol the glories of Arkansas to whomsoever would listen. Oil, discovered at Smackover, made near millionaires of many a populist farmer. "Arkansas on Wheels" has toured the country often inviting investments and immigration. Only last year the governor headed a party of legislators

and business men who visited the Carolinas examining the technique of attracting cotton mills to cheap labor.

There may yet arise a reincarnation of Jeff Davis to sweep the state. Business men and city dudes sometimes fear phantoms, and God knows the plight of the Arkansas peasantry is frightful enough to evoke phantoms. An old Confederate soldier, mellowed with bug juice and under the spell of barbecue oratory, once saw Jeff as Jefferson Davis, the patriarch, endowed with eternal life. "I fought for him in the sixties and I'm going to go on voting for him if he lives forever. He is the greatest and longest lived man that ever was." Even so, much meditation by one crowned with the bays of poesy by the populace has added this hope of another millennial dawn to the already overcrowded theology of Arkansas:

If Jeff could only come back now for one small day
And see the petty politicians' peevish play.
In fancy I can see the old guard fall in line
With guns unlimbered waiting for the first faint
sign
To forward march—God, what a change would
mark the day.
If Jeff could only come back now to lead the way.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE VOCATIONAL STABILITY OF CONNECTICUT FARMERS

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I

ACCORDING to the estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture, since 1910 about 12,000,000 or more of the farm population have migrated to the city. Even though within this period a great many city people have moved to the farms, there has resulted an estimated net loss of 5,000,000 or more to the farm population.¹

Such movements of large numbers of people have always been of great interest to the student of society. As in the great Aryan Migration, or the Wars of the Crusades, the passage of large numbers of people from one cultural environment to another very much unlike it, usually results: first, in a period of social conflict, instability, and adjustment; second, in an amalgamation of cultures which tends to widen mental horizons, and to undermine chauvinism, provincialism, and sectionalism.

This movement of our farm population is of special interest to the social ecologist, for in it he sees causal forces at work assorting, selecting, rejecting, and modifying population units and rearranging the location of culture areas. The politician,

likewise, is interested in the shifting of the population for it may change the proportional representation of different sections of the country in legislative halls, as well as change the political composition of the electorate of a given section. The economist, too, is interested in extensive movements of population for they may denote the shift of the labor supply, buying power, standards of consumption, or areas of competition. Moreover, primary group organizational leaders are interested in these movements, for they may mean the abandonment or the realignment of rural organizational structures and activities along lines that tend to upset culture patterns of long and honored duration. Withal, these phenomenal changes in the residence and the vocational employment of large numbers of people are apt to be causally related to conditions of social lag, wherein the problems created by or concomitant with population movements outrun their solution.

II

While it might be interesting to discuss at length the broader aspects of the movements of the rural population in this country, we shall be content for the present to consider that phase of the subject which deals with vocational stability in relation

¹ The Agricultural Situation, Vol. 14, No. 4, April 1, 1930.

to some of its implications to vocational education in agriculture. This treatment of the subject seems justified at this time: first, because it is clear that a rapid shifting of the rural population is causally related to a shifting in the number and the kind of farmers; and second, because the shifting in the number and the vocational interests of farmers calls for a suitable recognition on the part of the educational and regulative agencies designed for the service of agriculture. Moreover, a recent

showing the average length of tenure of farmers engaged in the various types of farming found here. Two important facts are shown by this table. First, men following such types of farming as general, dairy, tobacco, dairy-tobacco, and fruit growing, maintain, on the average, a much longer tenure in farming, as a vocation, than do vegetable growers and poultry raisers. These average tenures vary from 42 years for general farmers to 21 years for poultry raisers. Second, men following such types of farming as general, dairy, dairy-tobacco, and fruit growing, follow these respective types of farming a much

TABLE I
THE LENGTH OF FARM TENURE OF 400 CONNECTICUT FARMERS

TYPES OF FARMS	NUMBER OF FARMERS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS IN		PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF YEARS OF FARMING IN PRESENT TYPE
		All types of farming*	Present type of farming*	
General.....	45	42	40	95
Dairy.....	66	41	37	90
Dairy-Tobacco.....	25	44	40	91
Fruit.....	11	41	34	83
Tobacco.....	83	41	28	68
Vegetable.....	52	30	19	63
Poultry.....	34	21	11	52
Miscellaneous.....	84	34	23	68
Total.....	400	37	28	76

* Including farmboy, hired man, and tenant experience.

research study conducted by the Storrs Experiment Station, entitled, *The Vocational Genesis to Farming Occupations in Connecticut*, furnishes data for developing the subject somewhat as a case study.²

Let us briefly note the degree of vocational stability maintained by the farmers of Connecticut. Table I sets forth data

² The methodology of the study, and a more extended presentation of the analysis than can be given here, are contained in Bulletin 161, Storrs Experiment Station, October 1929.

TABLE II
CHANGES IN THE TYPE OF FARMING BY 286 CONNECTICUT FARM OWNERS

TYPES OF FARMS	NUMBER OF FARMERS	PERCENTAGE CHANGING			
		No change	Once	Twice	Three times and over
General.....	35	69	26	3	3
Fruit.....	8	67	22	11	
Dairy.....	65	52	35	6	7
Vegetable.....	49	39	35	14	12
Poultry.....	28	39	50	7	4
Tobacco.....	76	22	45	20	13
Dairy-Tobacco.....	25	16	40	20	24

longer percentage of their entire farming career than tobacco farmers, vegetable growers, and poultry raisers follow their respective types of farming. These percentages range from 95 for general farmers to 52 for poultry raisers (see the last column).

The vocational stability of the farmers included in this study may be measured in yet another way, in terms of the number of changes in the types of farming the farm operators have made during their entire farming career. These are presented in Table II. The data of Table II show that

general farmers make the fewest changes, as would be expected from the data of the previous table. Sixty-nine per cent of the general farmers have made no change in the type of their farming business during their entire farming experience, while 26 per cent have made but one shift. The fruit farmers were next in occupational stability, 67 per cent having made no shifts in farming; dairymen followed with 52 per cent having made no shifts; the vegetable growers and poultrymen tied with 39 per cent having made no shifts; and only 16 per cent of the dairy-tobacco farmers have made no shift in their type of farming.

In presenting the data of these two tables, no reference is made to the *quality* phases of vocational stability among the different types of farming discussed. Obviously standards of living, farm income studies, personality studies, and perhaps other kinds of studies need to be made of the various types of farmers before this phase of the question can be discussed intelligently. Conceivably, permanency of residence and vocational employment may be a good thing under certain circumstances, and a bad thing under others. Permanency of residence and fixedness of type of employment may range all the way from the barnacle-like permanency characteristic of certain decadent communities to that due to the fundamental growth of great civilizations requiring long periods of time for development. On the other hand, impermanency of residence and frequency of change in types of employment may range all the way from those typical of the rooming-house areas of our great cities, to that characteristic of a vigorous people who are discovering their abilities and are making suitable adjustments thereto.

However, within the limits of the present study, certain specific observations

as to stability of farm types should be made. It has been shown that general and small type farms are found chiefly in areas of decadent farming,—areas, in general, where farming is largely supplemented by non-agricultural pursuits. Many of the operators on these types of farms, though classed as farmers by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, in reality, should be thus classed only as a matter of courtesy, for some are professional people who farm a little mainly for recreation; others are jacks-of-all-trades who farm a little from choice or necessity; and there are still others who earn a rather meagre living entirely by this means. Of course, extended investigations of these groups of farmers, including their vocational education in agriculture, should be made before any sweeping generalizations are hazarded as to their success; but one fairly well acquainted with this situation is led to surmise that but relatively few are making a glowing financial success at farming. Dairying, a very stable type of farming, on the other hand, is known to be one of the most prosperous types of farming found in the state, while tobacco farming, though a prosperous type, is rather unstable so far as the continuity of farmers at the type is concerned.

It might be well to turn our attention, likewise, for a moment to the apparent incongruity of our data upon tobacco farming. In the first place, it should be observed that tobacco farming in Connecticut is becoming highly specialized and highly commercialized. It is not uncommon for one of the larger private growers to spend \$10,000 for fertilizer and \$15,000 for labor, in the production of a crop. Moreover, the rigid requirements of tobacco manufacturers as to the quality of cured tobacco, and the demands of the various economic problems pertaining to the size of business, the management of

labor and working capital, and the like, have resulted in taking most of the shade-grown tobacco production out of the hands of individual farmers and putting it into the hands of corporations. To a lesser degree the same tendency is being followed in the production of field-grown tobacco,

TABLE III
METHODS OF ATTAINING FARM OWNERSHIP BY 408
CONNECTICUT FARMERS

TYPES OF FARMS	NUMBER OF FARMERS	PERCENTAGE PASSING				
		Direct to ownership*	Farmboy to ownership	Farmboy and farmhand to ownership	One-step to ownership†	Miscellaneous‡
Dairy.....	65	5	28	32	5	31
Dairy Comb.....	34	6	35	9		50
Tobacco.....	82	8	24	26	5	37
Tobacco Comb.....	37		38	11	3	49
Vegetable.....	41	12	37	27	7	17
Veg. Comb.....	10	10	20	10		60
Poultry.....	22	27	36	18	5	14
Poultry Comb.....	5	20	60	20		
Fruit.....	10	30	30	10		30
Fruit Comb.....	14		29	21		50
General.....	46	22	30	22	11	15
Small Farm.....	24	21	33	21		25
Miscellaneous.....	18	17	50	22	6	6
Total.....	408	11	32	22	4	31

* Direct from non-farming occupations into farming.

† One type of farm experience other than farmboy.

‡ The percentages in the miscellany column, in some cases, seem great, but their importance is more apparent than real because of the various combinations included therein.

for corporations are already growing considerable volumes of this type of tobacco on land under their own control; and buyers, in order to secure the volume and quality of tobacco wanted, are entering into contracts with farmers wherein the buyers assume the management and certain costs of production, while the farmers

furnish the land and a certain amount of labor under supervision. Thus, it is obvious, that the conditions and factors responsible for these trends in tobacco growing are making it very difficult for individual farmers to get into successful tobacco farming, either as a single crop enterprise or as a unit in a system of mixed or general farming. In tobacco farming, as in all other business of a highly specialized and commercialized nature, competition is ruthless, and the average would-be tobacco farmer who has not discovered this fact must "take his fling" before he learns his lesson. This probably accounts, in large part, for the relative vocational impermanency of tobacco farmers, and for the present trends of those who enter tobacco farming to go by the farmboy-hiredman route, as we shall show in Table III to follow.

Somewhat as a sidelight upon our study of the vocational stability of Connecticut farmers, let us note briefly the opportunity they have had to receive apprenticeship education in their present farming enterprises, through previous farmboy and farmhand experience therein. Table III presents the data we have secured from 408 farmers upon this phase of the study. These data show that farmboy and farmhand experience, singly or combined, are important rounds on the agricultural ladder to ownership in all types of farming, and that the direct route from nonfarming pursuits to farming is followed by a relatively negligible number of present dairymen, tobacco farmers, and vegetable growers. It is to be observed, on the other hand, that the direct route to farm ownership reaches the proportions of a fifth or more of the present poultrymen, fruit growers, general and small farmers. It seems clear that there are present here a number of factors making dairying, tobacco growing, and vegetable farming

more difficult of entry by the direct route than is true of the latter group of farm types. The discovery and the quantitative analysis of these factors would likely prove to be of great value to the agencies offering vocational education in agriculture in southern New England.

III

What do the foregoing data mean in terms of vocational education in agriculture? Economy in the use of educational facilities devoted to this field of education, as well as wisdom in dealing with the human values involved, make this a pertinent question. Obviously, our information is not sufficiently complete to permit a satisfactory answer to this question; but pending further investigations along these lines, we may point out tentatively certain administrative and pedagogical significances that *seem* to be suggested by these data.

The first fact of significance to vocational education in agriculture shown by these data, is the great diversity in the vocational stability of Connecticut farmers. It is obvious that if farmers shift their type of farming frequently, they may, in so doing, more quickly attain a satisfactory socio-occupational adjustment than if they did not change so frequently; but they must necessarily lose something through the lack of opportunity to profit from their experience gained in the vocational activities they have abandoned. On the whole, one is made to suspect that frequent vocational moves by those having reached the stage of mature adulthood, is indicative of "vocational hoboism," and a lack of vocational guidance in youth. From the standpoint of the agencies that offer vocational education in agriculture, the residential and the vocational instability of farmers means a waste of effort and, withal, inefficiency in the educative proc-

ess, for "moving targets are hard to hit."

The second fact of importance to vocational education shown by these data, is the persistence of apprenticeship education. It is to be observed that under present socio-vocational conditions in this section of the country, the modified form of apprenticeship education represented by farmboy and farmhand experience evidently is proving its value in vocational guidance and vocational education. This seems particularly true of those types of farming that may be designated as difficult entry types. The fact that it requires considerable capital and several years time to get fairly well established in the dairy, the tobacco, and the vegetable businesses, on the whole, may be of distinct advantage to these respective types of farming, for those who enter these types of farming, as a group, are likely to be more highly selected, and, withal, vocationally better prepared to make a success at farming than those who enter poultry raising and other types of farming of easy entry. Our data on the relationship of the length of tenure and the number of farmers coming direct to ownership from urban employment are rather convincing "general" evidence of the correctness of this hypothetical conclusion, but, obviously, more research is needed at this point.

The secondary schools of agriculture in areas like southern New England face real difficulties both of an administrative and a pedagogical nature. For example, it is a question whether the average secondary school of vocational agriculture, as represented by the usual agricultural department in the high schools, is properly organized to give the urban youth planning to farm adequate farm experience. It must be recognized that, unlike many other vocations, family life and vocational activities in farming are closely related; the

same is true of the integration of capital, labor, and management. Thus, the trainee of urban origin needs to be connected with a productive farm business on a full-time basis in order that he may gain, in a realistic way, proficiency in its repetitive operative activities, experience in its organization and management, and adequate concepts of the standards of living and other social factors imposed by it. Recognizing the unique value of apprenticeship education, some of the dominion governments of the British Empire, as a phase of their land settlement policy, and as a matter of self-protection, are requiring as a prerequisite to government aid to immigrant farm settlers, a year's satisfactory apprenticeship under successful native farmers.³ This requirement applies to all prospective settlers, whether or not they have had practical farm experience in their home land. If, on the other hand, these secondary school departments of agriculture secure as students, *bona fide* farmboys, which most of them profess as their major aim, it is a serious question whether or not they are trying "to teach" them what they already know, especially the repetitive operative skills. This query seems especially pertinent when we have in mind farmboys who are entering the difficult entry types of farming (see Table III). While it is to be confessed that farmboys, because of lengthened school terms, and for other reasons, are probably not getting the extended farm experience that boys a few generations ago received, we cannot ignore the fact that only five per cent of the present dairy farmers included in our study skipped entirely farmboy or farmhand experience in dairying, that only eight per cent of the present tobacco

farmers skipped a similar experience in tobacco growing, and that only twelve per cent of the present vegetable growers have come directly into this business without previous farmboy or farmhand experience in commercial vegetable growing.⁴ On the other hand, it is the fruit growers, the poultrymen, and the small and general farm operators who have come into these types of farming in large numbers directly from urban employment, and it is probable that they are the farmers who would profit most from instruction in the detailed operative skills and judgments connected with getting on successfully in farming during the first few years.⁵ Whether the initial vocational education of the latter group of farmers is primarily the function of the secondary schools of agriculture, the extension service of the agricultural college, or a private agency, is an administrative question that should not be allowed to becloud the need for such education.

What, then, should the vocational school of agriculture teach the farmboys entering the difficult entry types of farming? Obviously, the answer is, what they need to learn to make a success at the business; but extended research is required to answer this question in detail. However, if present farmboys in Connecticut are

⁴ It has been generally assumed that extended experience in a farming vocation is valuable, but the writer is inclined to believe that farm experience, under ordinary conditions, and especially on its operative side, very quickly reaches a point of diminishing return. However, the whole question of the value of farm experience needs critical evaluation through research.

⁵ It is probable that permanency and success in other farming enterprises in Connecticut, other things being equal, require, in varying degrees, abilities and training similar to those of successful tobacco farmers. What these abilities, facts, and techniques for the various farming enterprises are, is largely a matter of conjecture. Evidently much investigation of a critical laboratory nature needs to be done in this field in the service of sound pedagogy and economy.

³ See Handbook for the Use of Prospective Settlers on the Land in Southern Rhodesia, The High Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia, Crown House, Aldwych, London, W. C. 2.

actually following the example of their fathers in the manner of getting into business, then it is probable that the economic and the scientific phases of their prospective businesses need most to be studied; other than the correction of deficiencies, it seems probable that not much in the way of operative skills and chore work will need to be taught. However, we may say, parenthetically, that until a boy has attained a certain amount of maturity and has made rather definite vocational decisions, offering him vocational education, even of the sort that he knows least about, will likely be of small vocational interest or value to him.

In this connection it may be of interest to note briefly what the Danish secondary schools of vocational agriculture are doing with respect to the issues we have just raised. The accompanying statement of the program of studies of the Lyngby Agricultural High School, seems to be illustrative of what the vocational agricultural schools of this country generally are doing.⁶

LANDBOSKOLEN VED LYNGBY DANMARK

(Agricultural School at Lyngby, Denmark)

Den 5 Maaneders Afdeling, Fra November til April. (The five month term from November to April.)

Der undervises her i følgende Fag: (There will be instruction in the following branches):

Kemi, uorganisk, organisk. (Chemistry, Inorganic, Organic.)

Fysik, Naturlære. (Physics, Natural Science.)

Jordbundslære. (Soil.)

Jordens Behandling og Bearbejdning, derunder Endog Mosekultur, Vanding og Afvanding. (Soil Preparation and working including mosses, irrigation, and drainage.)

Gødningslære. (Fertilizers.)

Sædskifte. (Crop Rotation.)

Planteavl, de enkelte Kulturplanters Dyrkning. (Plant breeding, cultivation of separate plants.)

Ukrudtsplanter. (Weeds.)

Frøslære. (Seed.)

Plantesygdomme. (Plant Diseases.)

Husdyrenes Bygning og Liv, Anatomi. (Domestic Animals, Anatomy, and Physiology.)

Husdyravl, Kvæg, Heste, Svin og Faar (Domestic Animals; breeding cattle, horses, swine, sheep.)

Husdyr-Racer, do.do. (Domestic Animals; breeds.)

Opdræt, Kvæg, Heste, Svin og Faar. (Breeding cattle, horses, swine, sheep.)

Ydrelære, praktisk Øvelse i at bedømme Heste og Kvæg. (Practical experience in judging horses and cattle.)

Fodringslære. (Feeding.)

Husdyrenes Sygdomme. (Animal Diseases.)

Beslaglære. (Horse-shoeing and foot troubles.)

Mælkerilære. (Milk Production.)

Redskabs og Maskinelære. (Farm Tools.)

Landbrugsregnskab. (Agricultural book-keeping.)

Driftslære. (Farm Management.)

Tegning. (Drawing.)

Landmaaling og Nivellering. (Drainage, surveying, etc.)

Regning. (Arithmetic.)

Skriftlige faglige Opgaver. (Themes on agricultural questions.)

Dansk. (Danish Language.)

Landbrugshistorie. (Agricultural History.)

Handelsfejl hos vore Husdyr. (Imperfections in Domestic Animals.)

⁶ The above statement of the program of studies offered by the Agricultural High School at Lyngby, Denmark, and the statement of the program of studies of the Folk High School at Askov, Denmark, following later in this article, were taken from recent catalogs of these institutions, and were translated into English through the courtesy of Mr. Neilson Abeel, Secretary of The American-Scandinavian Foundation in New York. The translations are included in the parentheses.

The above statement, strengthened by the personal inquiries of the writer on a recent visit to this and other agricultural schools of Denmark, indicates that it is the science and the nature-lore, rather than the manual operative side of farming, that is emphasized here. While there is a farm connected with this school, the students do very little manual or other routine

ÅSKOV HØJSKOLE, DANMARK
(*Åskov High School, Denmark*)

Timeplan for Første Aars Mandlige Lærlinger (Schedule for first-year male students)

KL. (TIME)	MANDAG (MONDAY)	TIRSDAG (TUESDAY)	ONSDAG (WEDNESDAY)	TORSdag (THURSDAY)	FREDAG (FRIDAY)	LØRDAG (SATURDAY)
8 -9	Geografi (Geography)		Samfundslære (Study of Political Econ.)		Kulturhistorie (History of Civilization)	
9 -10	Dansk	Dansk (Danish)	Dansk	Dansk	Dansk	Dansk
10½-11½	Foredrag (Lectures)					
11½-12½	Smaahold (Small hold- ings)		Engelsk (English) Tysk (German)	Smaahold		Engelsk (English) Tysk (German)
12½-2	Gymnastik Historie	Historie Gymnastik	Historie Gymnastik	Historie Gymnastik	(History) Historie Gymnastik	Gymnastik (Gymnastics)
3½-4	Sangøvelser (Song exercise)			Sangøvelser		
4 -5	Regning (Arithmetic)	Regning	Matematik (Mathematics)	Regning	Matematik	Sang (Song)
5 -6			Sundhedslære (Health Study)			Sundhedslære
6 -7	Foredrag					

Timeplan for andet Aars Mandlige Lærlinger (Schedule for second-year male students)

8 -9	Historie		Verdenslitteratur (World Literature)		Samfundøkonomi (Community Economics)	
9 -10	Dansk		Dansk		Dansk	Dansk
10½-11½	Foredrag					
11½-12½	Religion (Religion)		Engelsk Tysk	Religion		Engelsk Tysk
12½-2	Gymnastik	Matematik	Gymnastik	Matematik	Gymnastik	Laboratorie øvelser (Chem. Lab.)
3½-4	Sangøvelser			Sangøvelser		
4 -5				Sjælelære (Bible Hist.)	Fysik (Physics)	Sang
5 -6	Fysik		Historie	Historie		
6 -7	Foredrag					

operative work on the farm; they observe the farm practices but most of their work is of a scholastic nature. It may be further stated that actual farm experience is set as a prerequisite to enrollment in this school, that the average age of the students is slightly over twenty-three years, and that this brief period of schooling is intended largely as an opportunity to supplement and to intellectualize what the students already know.

It is also of interest to note that many of the students of the vocational agricultural schools of Denmark, either have already attended, or plan to attend one or more terms of the Folk High Schools. It is estimated that 30 per cent or more of the present adult population of the villages and countryside has attended the Folk High Schools. These Folk High Schools, while they may have definite vocational objectives, also are cultural schools, as will be shown by the program of studies of the Folk High School at Askov, herewith presented.

It seems rather clear, judging from the various sources of information drawn upon in the preparation of this article, that vocational education in agriculture, at least in its initial stages, should come pretty largely by the apprenticeship route, or a route essentially similar. Thus, besides performing a vocational guidance function, this form of education would supply in a realistic way, certain fundamental vocational skills and knowledges; at the same time, it would develop adequate mental attitudes toward farming and rural life, a factor of pivotal value to success in farming. Later, when a degree of maturity is attained, and the farming vocation decided upon, a period of education based upon the natural and the social sciences fundamental to agriculture may well be given for the purpose of intellectualizing what the young farmers already know

pretty well on the performance side. Then, by a system of adult education, these farmers should be given the opportunity to gain an advancing and an unfolding knowledge of their vocation in its technical, its cultural, its civic, its national, and international aspects; for modern farming, as it continues to become more highly specialized and commercialized, has multifarious aspects that are not comprehended by the type of vocational education that deals almost exclusively with "operative activities."

The third fact of importance to vocational education in agriculture shown by these data is the persistence of certain types of farming in the state. By observing the persistency with which the different types of farmers maintain their tenure, we also gain an idea of the persistency of the different types of farming and farm enterprises as well. Thus, while persistency, *per se*, may not logically be counted as a virtue, it does show what agricultural enterprises, under current conditions, have survival qualities. In Connecticut, these enterprises, at present, are: dairying, poultry raising, tobacco farming, fruit growing, market gardening, and their combinations, besides, general farming and part-time farming (see lists given in preceding tables). It seems axiomatic to state that it is upon these persistent agricultural enterprises that vocational education in agriculture should be based; but in so asserting, one does not argue that schools of vocational agriculture should attempt to repeat the instruction that normally takes place on the apprenticeship level in certain enterprises, or that is taken care of in a commercial way by corporate employers. Obviously, the chief purpose of the vocational school in agriculture offered at public expense should be to supplement, rather than repeat, the pick-up and apprenticeship education that many, probably

most, students acquire in agriculture of the difficult entry types. Moreover, the social, the civic, and the cultural phases of the agricultural life need interpretation, and that is a task that can probably be done better by the school than by apprenticeship education on the job. This is a task that the Danish Folk High Schools are doing well. On the other hand, the part-time farmer of Connecticut represented pretty largely by the general and the small farmer, and the poultry raiser and other farmers who enter farming in large numbers directly from non-agricultural types of employment—all fairly persistent types, seem especially likely to need the type of vocational education in agriculture that most of its components are probably willing to designate as *vocational*. It is probable that most of the latter group of

farmers need to learn on the repetitive, operative, chore level a great many techniques, skills, and knowledges that a wide-awake apprentice would normally be expected to gain in two or three years time on the job. But, it is this group of farmers that our present agencies for vocational education are apt to overlook or ignore. Withal, it seems clear that we need a broader definition of vocational education in agriculture than some of its present proponents are willing to accept. The educational needs of the individual for the successful performance of his vocation should be the guiding star of vocational education, for it is the "sinner and not the righteous that needs to be called to repentance," and then the "sinner needs to repent only of that wherein he has sinned.

NOTE ON THE STATISTICAL TREATMENT OF LIFE-HISTORY MATERIAL

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN, PHILIP M. HAUSER, SAMUEL A. STOUFFER

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METHODS of securing life-history materials have been improving faster perhaps than methods of analyzing them. This is especially true when a large number of life-history documents are involved.

In the course of a study carried on by the Sub-Committee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child under Section IIIA of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection¹ it was felt desirable to analyze a large number of life history documents. In this connection the problem of the

objectivity of the narratives arose, that is, it was desired to know how much agreement would result if a number of judges interpreted the documents independently. The writers of this article utilized a simple way of obtaining the degree of agreement, which is reported here. They had no hand in the collection of the materials or in the compilation of the categories on the basis of which the documents were analyzed. The little study here reported is quite independent of the work of the White House Conference.

Among the materials collected by the Sub-Committee were some 600 documents from college students consisting of a questionnaire and a life-history. As a guide for writing the narrative the student was

¹ Chairman of Section IIIA, Dr. Louise Stanley, Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, D. C. Chairman of Sub-Committee, Dr. E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

presented with a series of questions as "suggestions for writing a description of home life"; he was asked not to follow the questions slavishly but to write freely. The first two paragraphs follow and illustrate the type of questions asked.

"1. Describe yourself as a child, the degree to which you were shy or at ease with other children, whether you thought of yourself as beautiful or ugly, bright or stupid, etc.

2. How popular were you with other children? Kinds of games you played, gangs or play groups? Were you a leader or follower? Reading interests?"

Since it was desired to determine the relationship of various factors in the students' lives to other factors and to personality traits, those in charge of the study decided to make a statistical analysis of the life-histories. For this purpose it was necessary to construct a key by means of which each document could be analyzed. For each factor upon which the documents presumably contained data, a series of categories was arranged, graded wherever possible. Thus, with reference to the factor of "social development of child by parents," three categories were used: (1) encouraged, pushed forward, urged on; (2) allowed to follow own tendencies, not encouraged; (3) held back, discouraged. The person who analyzed the document then determined from reading the paper the category into which a particular case fell.²

² As it may be of interest to other sociologists, the following note may be added as to the way in which the original list of factors and their attendant categories were reached. The work on this section of the study was done by a committee of twelve graduate students and the director. Each person read five documents and made a list of the factors found in each, with the terms actually used there to describe the situations involved. The results were then pooled and a sub-committee of three worked out a master list of factors with the attendant categories. In some cases the graded series of categories was filled out logically in order to give at least three classes

The question at once arose as to the amount of subjective judgment which entered into placing a document in, let us say, category (1) above, "encouraged," rather than in category (2) "allowed to follow own tendencies." The question is especially pertinent when a large number of papers are read by several persons but no paper is read by two persons.

In order to check the reliability of the key and the reliability in general of classifying narrative materials into definite categories for statistical analysis, the writers of this article each read the same random selection of 117 documents, made the classifications into categories independently and then studied the results.

Nine factors in the students' lives were investigated in all. From the independent judgments by the three investigators, twenty-seven tables were made up. Table I presented here is an example.

Twenty-one of these tables lent themselves to comparable treatment by the contingency method.³ Table II summarizes the contingency coefficients found.

(high, low and middle). The resulting key was very long, and was shortened by the elimination of factors not immediately pertinent to the purpose of the study, and also of factors found in only a few of the documents used in the preliminary reading. The key which resulted was then given to each member of the committee of twelve persons. One case was read to the committee and was classified by the group according to the key. Working in pairs, the committee next analyzed several cases by the key, and at their next meeting discussed the key. Terms were re-defined and some new categories were added to complete certain series. The final key contained fifty-one factors and 194 categories.

In applying the key the categories were numbered consecutively from 1 to 194. A card was then mimeographed with numbers on it from 1 to 194. One card was used for each case, and the numbers representing categories which seemed to fit the case in question were encircled.

³ Two of the factors are omitted, one factor because of the presence of too few cases in two of the arrays and the other because there were only two categories.

It will be noted that the contingency coefficients are all high—in some cases indicating almost complete agreement. For example, the factor "attractiveness as a child" had four categories: (1) proud of appearance, thought himself very attrac-

looks; (4) considered himself unattractive or ugly. The highest possible contingency coefficient theoretically would be 0.866. The relationship between the judgments of Cavan and Hauser was 0.81; of Cavan and Stouffer, 0.80; of

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF JUDGMENTS BY HAUSER AND STOUTTER ON FAMILY DISCORD BETWEEN PARENTS AS REPORTED IN LIFE HISTORIES

	FREQUENT QUARRELING	OCCASIONAL QUARRELS	SOME DIFFER- ENCE OF OPINION BUT NEVER QUARREL	NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION; UNITY	TOTAL
No Difference of Opinion; Unity		1	1	16	18
Some Difference of Opinion but never Quarrel	1	1	22	11	35
Occasional Quarrels	1	18	9	3	31
Frequent Quarreling	12	2			14
	14	22	32	30	98

C = 0.757 (theoretical upper limit, 0.866).

TABLE II

RAW COEFFICIENTS OF CONTINGENCY BETWEEN JUDGMENTS OF FACTORS AS REPORTED IN LIFE HISTORIES

	CATE- GORIES	THEORET- ICAL UPPER LIMIT*	CAVAN AND HAUSER		CAVAN AND STOUTTER		STOUTTER AND HAUSER		AVERAGE CONTIN- GENCY COEFFI- CIENT
			Number of cases†	Contin- gency coeffi- cient	Number of cases†	Contin- gency coeffi- cient	Number of cases†	Contin- gency coeffi- cient	
Self-feeling in group of children	4 x 4	0.866	101	0.780	101	0.749	113	0.790	0.773
Attractiveness as a child	4 x 4	0.866	66	0.808	65	0.797	75	0.798	0.801
Leadership as a child	3 x 3	0.816	90	0.736	85	0.698	92	0.696	0.710
Discord between parents	4 x 4	0.866	96	0.758	96	0.756	98	0.757	0.757
Confiding in Mother	3 x 3	0.816	83	0.680	76	0.740	86	0.707	0.709
Methods of control	4 x 4	0.866	86	0.736	81	0.795	85	0.732	0.754
Mother's attitude toward child at present	3 x 3	0.816	93	0.751	88	0.702	86	0.713	0.722

*Nale, G. U., *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, 7th edition, revised, p. 66.

† The judge made no entry if he felt that the data in the life history were inadequate to warrant a judgment about a particular factor. This accounts for the differences in the number of cases upon which the coefficients of contingency are based.

tive; (2) considered himself of average attractiveness; (3) never thought about

Stouffer and Hauser, 0.80. The lowest average coefficient found, which was on judgments of "extent to which the child confided in the mother," was high enough, as can be seen from Table II, to indicate sufficiently satisfactory agreement for or-

The six tables for these two factors showed by inspection apparently as high agreement between judgments as that found on the other factors.

inary working purposes. How high agreement is necessary is, of course, a practical question depending on how the inferences from the life history are to be used.

It should be emphasized that this agreement in inferences from the life histories is no check on the validity of the life histories themselves. Whether the students told the truth is another question. Furthermore, some of these documents were not life histories in a strict sense, for certain of the students, contrary to instructions, apparently took the easy way out by writing brief, perfunctory answers to the questions in the outline of suggestions. It is possible that the more perfunctory the papers were and the less they resembled a smooth flowing narrative the easier it was for the judges to agree in analyzing them. This would be interesting to check quantitatively, if enough time were available.

✓ The writers agree with those who doubt the economy, though not the possibility, of treating life history materials quantitatively in practice. Unpublished studies by one of the present writers⁴ and by Everett V. Stonequist⁵ show that practically the same results can be obtained by classifying categorical responses to a direct questionnaire as by classifying inferences, obtained with far greater labor, from life histories. This is not to deny the importance of the life history method as a tool of

research. As some sociologists have held, a main function of the life history is perhaps to supply insights, hunches, and ✓ clues. Some of the most important life history material, dealing with elaborate patterns rather than magnitudes, perhaps should not be forced into a quantitative mould. The insights derived from life histories, moreover, are often essential to the construction of direct questionnaires, and also for an interpretation of the relationships among the answers to the direct questionnaire after the magnitude of the relationships has been determined statistically.

It is important to know whether inferences from life history materials can have objectivity, for it would seem that the value even of qualitative insights is enhanced if a number of competent observers, reading the same document, should make the same inferences. Furthermore, objectivity of the narrative is especially important if life history materials are to be used in a systematic statistical way as a check on the validity of direct questionnaires ✓ filled out by the same writers.

The little investigation here reported tends to give further confidence in the objectivity of life history materials. But it should be borne in mind that agreement on inferences as to a single factor abstracted from a document does not mean that investigators necessarily would agree in their appraisal of a time sequence of ✓ causal relations involving a chain of inferences or hypotheses or in their abstraction of a complex pattern of relationships.

⁴ Stouffer, S. A., *Experimental Comparison of Statistical and Case History Methods in Attitude Research*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, June, 1930.

⁵ *The Marginal Man*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, August, 1930.

A STATISTICAL INDEX OF TOPOGRAPHY

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BUCHANAN COUNTY, Virginia, due to its rugged mountainous topography, is one of the most isolated areas in the Appalachian Highlands. The social development of that area is limited by its topography more than by any other one factor. In making social studies of such mountainous areas or in planning institutional development in them, it is desirable to have an accurate method of measuring the influence of topography. The problem resolves itself into the construction of an index of topography which can be used in making correlations with various social and economic conditions. We have experimented with the construction of such an index and present below an outline of the method used.

BASIS OF COMPUTATION

A large map was obtained with a linear scale of 10 miles to 1.5 inches and a contour interval of 500 feet. Horizontal and vertical lines, three-eighths of an inch apart (equivalent to 2.5 miles) were then drawn on the map. A careful count for each county was then made of the total number of times the vertical and horizontal lines crossed a contour interval or a stream. This total count was then divided by one-hundredth of the number of square miles in each county to obtain comparable indices of topography, or roughness of the terrain. In Buchanan County the horizontal and vertical lines touched a 500 foot contour interval or a stream about 648 times. This number divided by one-hundredth of the number of square miles in that county (5.14) yields an index of 126. In other words, if some resident of Buchanan County should attempt to travel along all

these mythical lines in his county he would be forced to cross a contour interval or a stream 648 times, or an average of 126 for every 100 square miles. The corresponding index was computed for fifty-seven other counties in the western part of Virginia—all of which had some five hundred foot contour intervals. Dickenson County had an index of 97; Giles, 96; Craig, 94; Bland, 94; Wise, 82. Counties showing moderate indices are: Botetourt, 68; Carrol, 57; Floyd, 51; Greene, 61; and Madison, 55. Counties showing small indices are: Amherst, 31; Buckingham, 32; Loudoun, 30; Louisa, 20; Nottoway, 17; and Cumberland, 10.

POSSIBLE ERROR

The inclusion of streams on an equal basis with contour intervals in the computations was purely arbitrary. It seems reasonable to assume that a stream constitutes a barrier to transportation or communication approximately equal to that of a five hundred foot elevation. The larger streams are undoubtedly greater barriers than five hundred foot elevations, and many smaller streams may be just as great. If there is any error in including streams it is quite likely that not enough weight has been given them.

A possible objection to the index is that certain peculiarities of topography (such as relatively level valleys bordering on steep mountain ridges) may cause the index to be unrepresentative of the area. A close study of the topographical map, however, shows that in no country are there peculiar contour lines which make appreciable error in the index. Such peculiarities of contour as may the-

oretically exist are very likely to balance each other in an area of the size of a county. The probability is that the index is just as reliable a measure of the physical isolation of the county as, say, the per capita value of farm property is a measure of the wealth of the county. In both cases, the difficulty is inherent in the use of an average to represent an entire area.

CORRELATIONS WITH SOCIAL FACTORS

The value of this index of topography is partially demonstrated by the high correlations that have been obtained with certain social factors. The following list shows zero order coefficients of correlation between the index of topography and several factors.¹

Percentage of Negroes in the rural population.....	-0.74
Number of members per rural church.....	-0.64
Percentage of rural white church membership.....	-0.55
Percentage of rural Negro church membership.....	-0.47
Percentage of white farm tenancy....	-0.35
Percentage of white farm population in rural population.....	-0.26
Density of the rural population.....	-0.06

Such correlations indicate that the index of topography described in this paper may be quite useful as a research tool. Its

¹ Fifty-seven Virginia counties, all of which showed some contour lines, were used in these correlations.

value in research makes it also valuable for practical administrative purposes. It should aid public school administrators, church officials, and officials of other social agencies in the solution of such problems as the consolidation of local groups.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER EXPERIMENTATION

In this paper, we have given the results of some experimentation with the construction of an index of topography. It is not claimed that the methods used are final. As a matter of fact, before extensive use is made of such an index it is suggested that further computations be made. In particular, the vertical and horizontal lines might yield a more accurate index if they were one mile apart instead of two and one half miles. Placing them closer together, however, will necessitate much more detailed work in construction of the index. It might also be well to eliminate the streams in the count of intersections. Omitting the streams, in our opinion, will make very little difference in the final result. It might also be desirable to use a map with a smaller contour interval—either one hundred or two hundred and fifty feet. This would, perhaps, make the index of greater value in studying Piedmont counties. On the other hand, it is doubtful if an elevation of less than five hundred feet would make enough difference to justify the extra labor involved.

FELLOWSHIPS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR SOUTHERN GRADUATE STUDENTS

The Social Science Research Council announces a new series of fellowships available to southern graduate students who are interested in problems of special significance to the South in the general field of the social sciences, including economics, sociology, government, history, psychology, anthropology, and human geography. These fellowships are open to men and women, white or Negro, who are graduates of accredited colleges and universities. For information and application blanks address the Chairman, DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER, 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Georgia. The closing date for application for 1931-32 is February 1, 1931.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE GHETTO AND THE SLUM

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DEFINITIONS

TWO words from the realm of popular parlance which have found their way into the accepted terminology of the science of sociology within recent years are "the ghetto" and "the slum." Within the past year two separate volumes have appeared in the sociological press bearing the above titles.¹ The literary efforts notably of Jacob Riis and Israel Zangwill a generation ago served to focus popular attention in America upon these two colorful areas of modern urban life. A host of writers, semi-scientific and fiction, have since exploited the field, but it was not until very recently that bona fide sociologists discovered the rich research possibilities of the slum and the ghetto. There has been, in fact, a general disposition among social workers and students to discredit the two terms as possessing invidious connotations which disqualified them for scientific or practical use. Jane Addams, for instance, in her *Twenty Years at Hull House* religiously avoids the two words, slum and ghetto, although a considerable portion of the book is devoted to a consideration of these areas of the city.

That terms expressing appreciation may be purged of their moral implications is abundantly demonstrated in the evolution of use of the words under consideration. Sociologists now place a fairly uniform and precise content into the once highly descriptive and indefinite expressions.

"In our American cities the ghetto refers particularly to the area of first settlement, i.e., those sections of the cities where the immigrant finds his home shortly after his arrival in America."²

"Specifically the ghetto is a region where a racial or cultural group lives in an enforced or accepted isolation from the rest of the community and in which the group is able to live its life according to its own standards, and maintain its own cultural tradition untouched and unspotted from the world. The foreign settlements in China, in which European nationals maintain their rights of extraterritoriality, and particularly the foreign residential areas in such settlements, are properly ghettos. They are ghettos insofar as they intentionally or unintentionally isolate the persons who live in them from full participation in the cultural life of the country and maintain an exotic and alien culture."³

The ghetto, as we use the term, refers to the stable immigrant and racial colonies, within which there is a high concentration and homogeneity of the specified racial group, permitting of well integrated

¹ Wirth, *The Ghetto*, Chicago, 1928. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Chicago, 1928.

² Wirth, *ibid*, p. 4.

³ Unpublished manuscript by Robert E. Park.

and compelling family and neighborhood organization.

The slum is likewise accurately described as follows:

"The slum is an area of physical deterioration in which people live because they are forced to do so from economic compulsion, or because they want to escape the discipline and control of standards imposed in more stable and self respecting neighborhoods, or because, as in the case of immigrants of the first generation they are not for the time concerned about their status and reputation in the larger community."⁴

It is noted for its social instability and flux, a highly mobile and racially diverse population, and low moral standards.

"The masses of beings who inhabit it (modern city), robbed of every tie which fixes them to a point of ground, with no material and often no moral home, become veritable nomads who pass from room to room and from house to house. A certain social anarchy follows inevitably from the ever-rising tide of these unattached beings."⁵

The mere fact of contiguity within the zone of transition between residence and business and industry, of high land values and low residential rents, and of congested housing and poor sanitation, has often resulted in confusion in the use of the two terms. In popular parlance they are often used interchangeably but even the minimal definitions of this paper suggest important differences of which research workers have probably not yet taken sufficient account.

Primary among the characteristics of these two cultural areas are the antitheses, organization and disorganization. While these processes may logically be conceived as phases of a more inclusive and continuing life process,⁶ they also mark

decided contrasts. American sociology, because of its rise through the avenue of social problems and reform, has rather concentrated its emphasis upon the description of the processes of disorganization, with only incidental attention to the correlative processes of organization. With the exception of Cooley, American sociologists have developed the concept of social organization principally in terms of disorganization. Thus the "decreasing influence of existing rules of behavior upon individual members of the group"⁷ immediately suggests the correlative phase of stabilization or reorganization. "The lack of effective and unified collective action," "the lack of morale" within the group and the concomitant "failure to communicate between the members," "the individualization of behavior," "incoherent and meaningless behavior following no set patterns,"—these are inferentially the negative aspects of social organization. Stated positively, social organization, according to Thomas, involves the development and maintenance of acceptable "schemes of behavior—rules of personal conduct and institutions"—which will permit of collective action. "Social organization, in the positive sense, . . . is not equivalent to thoroughgoing homogeneity, of culture or of individual behavior; society is made of unlike but cooperating individualities, and it is precisely the fact of communication that makes possible cooperation of the most distinctly human sort."⁸

means . . . first, there can be no social gain that does not entail somewhere, on the whole community or on a class, the breakup of established relations, interests, and occupations, and the necessity of a more or less difficult readjustment."

⁷ Thomas & Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, II, 1128.

⁸ House, *The Range of Social Theory*, p. 337.

⁴ Unpublished document by Robert E. Park.

⁵ J. Brunhes, *Human Geography*, p. 343.

⁶ F. H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, p. 231. Quoted in House, *The Range of Social Theory*, p. 329. "Society, as an aggregate that is simultaneously losing and absorbing motion, experiences an incessant rearrangement of parts. This

CULTURE AREAS CONTRASTED

The following pages will be devoted to a description of the slum and the ghettos of Honolulu, with particular reference to the processes of organization and disorganization.⁹

The casual observer along the streets of Honolulu would be led to believe that Hawaii's diverse population elements manifest none of the segregative and discriminative tendencies of differing racial groups elsewhere. He observes Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Spanish, and North Europeans living side by side in the same block or lane in apparent amity and accord. It is only as he pushes back from the main thoroughfares into the obscure and torturous byways and lanes with which Honolulu abounds, that the strength of the segregative process is revealed. Here he discovers the little Tokyos, the new Cantons, and Azores of the Pacific. The small colonies of Japanese, Chinese, and Portuguese are most noticeable due to the size of the respective groups, but areas of concentration of Porto Ricans, Spanish, and Filipinos are likewise to be found.

Within these ghettos, there is much to remind one of life in the countries from which the migrants departed. Externally at least the resemblances are marked. The Shinto shrine and the Buddhist temple duplicating in minute detail the conventional sanctuaries of Japan, are symbolic of a devotion to the culture of the land of the Rising Sun. The small household shrines and the good-luck signs over the doors of the Chinese villager speak of a transplanted but virile culture.

⁹ Early in 1928 the writer was asked to participate in a survey of the fire hazards in certain portions of Honolulu and it was largely in connection with the observations made during these field trips that the outlines of this study were suggested.

These and a thousand minor evidences call attention to the life of the old world.

Implicit perhaps in what has already been suggested with regard to social organization are certain contrasts between the ghetto and the slum of particular sociological significance. Even the casual observer must sense in Honolulu's transitional zone the sharp difference between the social atmosphere of the two cultural areas. One breathes of warmth, intimacy, color; the other of anonymity, chilling distances, drabness. In the one life is on the plane of close, compelling, family and neighborhood disciplines and in the other of impersonal relationships and private convenience.

Mere spatial proximity in the ghetto provides for the effective operation of the old world traditions, habits, mores and institutional controls through the media of the face to face contacts, gossip, and neighborhood discussion and definitions. As compared with adjoining sections within the zone of transition, ghetto life is provincial, circumscribed and, to the young participant, dull and monotonous.

One of the most important functions of the racial colony in any city is that of providing, during the trying period of readjustment to a new culture and civilization, a haven¹⁰ where the habitual and customary patterns of life are unquestioned and absolute. Within the nondescript and disorganized slum area of the city, where eco-

¹⁰ Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, p. 141. . . . "The immigrant finds in it a social world. In the colony he meets with sympathy, understanding, and encouragement. There he finds his fellow-countrymen who understand his habits and standards and share his life-experience and viewpoint. In the colony he has status, plays a rôle in a group. In the life of the colony's streets and cafe's, in its church and benevolent societies, he finds response and security. In the colony he finds that he can live, be somebody, satisfy his wishes—all of which is impossible in the strange world outside."

nomic necessity usually compels the immigrant to settle, the racial colony or ghetto serves to conserve and foster the only cultural standards which the immigrant can understand. So, too, for the second generation midway in the assimilative process, the little Tokyo, Chinatown, or little Portugal provides a milieu of stability and accepted values and codes. Unlike the amorphous slum, where all types and varieties of people with as many diverse traditions and moral codes, are thrown together in a hopeless welter, the segregated racial colony does preserve one standard of behavior relatively unchallenged. At least, the pains of readjustment to the new cultural standards are not so acute as in areas, where great diversity of tradition is encountered.

"Hell's Half Acre" and "Tin Can Alley"¹¹ are characterized not so much by the absence of moral codes and restraints, as by the conflict of a number of distinctly different cultures and values, none of which is taken very seriously by the second generation. Americanization, in the sense of the break-down of the traditional, primary group controls and the individualization of behavior, proceeds at an unusually rapid pace in such areas. One sees in the flesh-colored silk stockings hanging out to dry in front of the Chinese family shrine evidence of a rapid assimilation of certain aspects of American civilization, but one seldom finds in such sections any evidence of a vital substitute for the type of social control which is thus flaunted.

Abundant confirmation of this general theory appeared as a result of field work conducted in the areas of community deterioration in Honolulu in 1927 and 1928. It was discovered that in the area of disorganization just back of the city

proper, the cases of Japanese juvenile delinquency came from neighborhoods where the Japanese population was not highly concentrated, where in fact the Japanese were mixed rather indiscriminately with the rest of the population. To be more specific, in the area, A, bounded by School Street, the Kauluwela School grounds, and Chun Hoon Lane, our map showed a very high and almost exclusive concentration of Japanese population and likewise a complete absence of juvenile delinquency. Just across Vineyard Street, our maps indicated a rather nondescript neighborhood, B, where a few Japanese youngsters and a few children of every other racial and cultural group represented in the Islands, Hawaiian, Part-Hawaiian, Portuguese, Porto-Rican, Korean, Chinese, Filipino and others, were thrown together. Of fifteen Japanese school children, three were brought before the Juvenile Court during that year. A recent house to house canvass of these two sections revealed in neighborhood A a concentrated Japanese population of 342 or 89 per cent, as against 46 of other races. In neighborhood B, our canvass indicated 140 Japanese, or 30 per cent of the total, mixed indiscriminately among 58 Koreans, 187 Chinese, 30 Filipinos, 28 Hawaiians, and 20 Porto Ricans.

In brief, we have two neighborhoods located side by side within an area of disorganization, with much the same economic status, housing, and recreational facilities, but differing most markedly in the segregation and concentration of their population. Neighborhood A shows a complete absence of cases of juvenile delinquency, while neighborhood B represents a high rate of delinquency not only of the Japanese but of other groups as well.

A similar state of affairs was uncovered as the result of a house to house canvass covering 1890 persons in a limited area

¹¹ The colorful and not inappropriate terms applied to two local areas of the slum where vice and crime are particularly rampant.

somewhat closer to the city proper but still within the zone of deterioration. The isolated camps of a single nationality, ranging in size from 25 to 120 persons, present a picture of much greater stability and wholesomeness of life than the area at large where all nationalities are mixed without apparent rhyme or reason. The most striking cases of demoralization—prostitution, bootlegging, opium—were found in the tenements housing the largest variety of racial types. The area as a whole was predominantly Japanese and Chinese, but these disorganized houses had attracted most of the few Portuguese, Porto Rican, Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, Koreans, and Filipinos found within the area, as well as a few isolated Japanese and Chinese. The dominant racial groups could offer but slight resistance to the geographical invasions of disorganized elements of other racial groups, but they had developed a relatively high degree of immunity to the spread of these non-sanctioned behavior patterns within their own cultural group.

An illuminating sidelight on the patterns just indicated was discovered in a preliminary study of prostitution in Honolulu. This form of vice is highly concentrated in the area of transition immediately surrounding the central business district. The fact of peculiar significance in this connection is the invasion of certain sub-central Oriental residential areas along the Nuuanu gradient by houses of prostitution. Almost without exception the proprietors of these houses are *haoles*¹² and the disapprobation of the rather solid Oriental population of the area is not a sufficient barrier to this white invasion. It would seem probable that such incursions into the ghetto by strangers would provide the opening wedge for other types of disorgan-

ization. A similarly situated region along the gradient towards Manoa, but inhabited by a high percentage of whites, is still capable of offering effective resistance to commercialized vice and no arrest whatsoever occurred during 1928. As might be expected, the lower forms of prostitution such as street-walking and brothels conducted by a cosmopolitan profession are highly concentrated in the Palama and Central slum areas.

RACIAL SEGREGATION AND COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

The studies just described are of value primarily in suggesting a hypothesis of community organization which might be tested in the entire city. What, if any, is the relationship between racial segregation or dispersion and social disorganization? Do juvenile delinquency, family maladjustment and vice occur less frequently in the racial colony than in the polyglot community? Investigation tends to give an affirmative answer to this question. For the city as a whole we find a rough inverse correlation between social disorganization, measured in terms of juvenile delinquency and dependency, and the degree of segregation and concentration of the immigrant colony.¹³ This correlation is particularly noticeable in the case of the Japanese community, which because of its size has permitted the establishment of well defined and integrated neighborhood groups, but the same principle is illustrated in the Hawaiian, Portuguese, Chinese and "Other Caucasian" communities. Using the public school population by school districts as a base, rates of juvenile delinquency covering the two year period of 1926-27 were computed.

¹³ Lacking accurate and up-to-date census data for the various neighborhoods and natural areas of the city, it is useless to attempt precise mathematical correlations.

¹² A Hawaiian term used to designate the white population of North-European ancestry.

For the Moilili, upper Manoa, and Kalihi-uka Japanese colonies,¹⁴ where segregation is most marked, the rates of delinquency, based upon population for 1927 are 3.2, 0.0, and 0.0 per thousand respectively, all of which are markedly below the general Japanese rate of 5.1 for the city as a whole. The highest rates for the Japanese are found in the Kalihi-waena, Palama, Kakaako and Central districts which have no highly segregated Japanese colonies. The rates are 13.0, 11.5, 9.0 and 6.4 respectively. An examination of spot maps showing the distribution of cases of juvenile delinquency in 1926, 1927 and 1928 reveals a paucity of cases within the various Japanese camps¹⁵ of the city.

"Occasionally we find cases where Japanese living in so-called 'Japanese camps' move out and make their homes in sections in which people of various races live together, their reason being that residents in 'Japanese Camps' indulge in too much gossiping and make life intolerable. There is no denying that gossipings go on constantly in 'Japanese camps'. The residents of such camps, it is commonly said, whisper to one another about every activity about others in the camp—about every step taken by them. This, however, proves in the long run to be a restraining hand that prevents the residents of the camps from doing anything that brings unsavory remarks from others."¹⁶

Isolated camps are less frequent among the other nationalities and the smaller

¹⁴ Honolulu presents the somewhat unusual phenomena of a number of racial colonies of first settlement situated in the outlying sections of the city. Not infrequently these ghettos have been developed on land which previously was uninhabitable. The Japanese in particular have exploited barren regions for their raising of vegetables, flowers, and hogs.

¹⁵ Areas of close and solid settlement by the Japanese in Honolulu with housing and social conditions similar to those found in the plantation camps. Housing and sanitary conditions are often poor. Contacts are limited and primary in character and gossip is rife. They represent the ghetto in miniature.

¹⁶ Nippu Jiji, Honolulu, May 11, 1928.

numbers of the total population preclude the possibility of such large areas of solid settlement. A varying degree of residential segregation and concentration has occurred among all racial and cultural groups in the territory and these areas of high concentration generally reflect a higher degree of social stability and health of the group thus segregated than would be true of the same population elements when wisely diffused among other groups. The rather few cases of juvenile delinquency among "Other Caucasians" are drawn almost exclusively from areas where the *haole* population is a minority group and there is an almost complete absence of "Other Caucasian" court cases in such white strongholds as Manoa, Upper Nuuanu, Kaimuki, Waikiki, and Makiki. The Chinese population illustrates the same principle and even the Hawaiians, who provide for the city and territory one of the highest rates of delinquency, appear to much better advantage in areas where they are most highly concentrated. The Hawaiian rates for 1926-1927 of 6.22 and 7.06 in Kalihi-waena and Kalihi-kai, respectively, both noticeably below the city-wide Hawaiian rate of 8.13, are indicative of the meliorating influence of numbers of one's own cultural group upon juvenile delinquency.

It is extremely significant in this connection that the Hawaiians show the least tendency of any of the cultural groups to maintain segregated areas of residence. They, more than any others, are indifferent to the racial complexion of their neighbors, and one is likely to find Hawaiians mixed indiscriminately among the other population groups of the city. In every tenement or small neighborhood group consisting of people of more than one race or nationality, one is almost certain to find one or more households of Hawaiians. The Hawaiians constitute a potent reagent

in the assimilative process, assisting in the interaction of various immiscible population elements.¹⁷

While fulfilling this exceedingly valuable function of contacting the diverse cultural and racial groups, the Hawaiians themselves have undoubtedly suffered a loss of their own cultural heritage and controls, which is reflected in their high rates of delinquency, crime, and dependency. Valued for their kindly and saving influence upon others, they have too frequently failed in the maintenance of their own morale.

Without attempting to present any comprehensive discussion of all the bases of this phenomenal absence of group preference and the high incidence of disorganization, it may be advantageous to indicate at least one significant factor. The impact of the early white population and western civilization upon a primitive economic and social system in Hawaii as elsewhere had disastrous effects upon the latter. The advent of the white missionaries in Hawaii a century ago found the indigenous population in open revolt against the overly repressive measures of their ancient cultural system. The active missionary propaganda served further to discredit many of the practices of the old régime and to glorify cultural standards alien to the natives. Subsequent experience has only served to amplify the natives' disregard for things Hawaiian and by the same token for things sacred according to established western standards.¹⁸

¹⁷ Studies by Dr. Adams have revealed a similar low resistance with regard to intermarriage on the part of the Hawaiians. They surpass all other racial groups in the Territory in the frequency of outmarriage, and they manifest only slight preference for one group over another.

¹⁸ "The rather high rate of committals (to prison and industrial schools) for the native Hawaiians may be attributed largely to the fact that they are undergoing a profound cultural change. The shift from a

When released from the restraints imposed by the permanent primary group, the individual "tends to behave in wild and incalculable way, to act on any vagrant impulse that invades his mind."¹⁹ The close relationship between the tolerance for the out-group and personal and social disorganization is well illustrated in the following excerpt from a social case record of a Hawaiian woman.

"Many years ago Mary had married a Hawaiian who is now living on another island. She had two children by him. Ten years ago she left him and went to Kona to live with a Korean, and she had two children by him. He died four years ago and Mary came to Honolulu to live with her former husband. She did not remain long with him but married a part-Chinese. Two years ago Mary went to live with a *haole*, who later got into trouble and was sent to jail. One of the daughters is now in the detention home. . . . Japanese neighbors asked that something be done for the children. The mother is often under the influence of liquor. She is leading an immoral life with Filipinos. Mary makes the little girls dance the hula for the Filipinos. The worker was requested by the Japanese neighbors that Mary be moved."

Cases of personal disorganization due to the absence of the sustaining and restraining influence of the racial colony are not difficult to find in Honolulu. The person who is released from contacts with his cultural group, whether because of a conflict with the group or because of some other circumstance, runs a serious risk of failure to "organize his whole life for the efficient, progressive and continuous realization of his fundamental interests."²⁰

primitive feudalism to modern political and commercial life in a comparatively short time has undermined their ancient ethical system and brought them under a system of relationships to which some of them have not become adjusted."—Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii*, p. 35.

¹⁹ Park and Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, p. 72.

²⁰ Thomas & Znaniecki, *Polish Peasant*, II, 1128.

A visiting teacher in Honolulu relates the case of a Japanese girl whose vagrant behavior dates from the time when her mother moved away from the Japanese community and undertook the proprietorship of a lodging house patronized principally by non-Japanese.

"The girl had been in every sense of the word a model daughter and student previous to her mother's taking over this lodging house. At that time, however, the girl began breaking away from the standards imposed by the Japanese community and developed her models of behavior by what she saw in the lodging house. She began going out with a gang and on one occasion remained out all night with a group of boys who had stolen an auto. It seems probable that this girl would have been a pride and joy to her mother and the community had she remained under the influence of the Japanese community."²¹

Social workers not infrequently test the degree of demoralization of a problem case by the extent to which contacts between the individual and the cultural group have been severed. Particularly is it true that the individual who for any reason whatsoever loses the respect for and of his group begins to lose respect for himself. A couple of case records taken from the files of social agencies of the city illustrate the process referred to.

The K family, although keenly sensitive to the judgments of the Japanese community, had lost the esteem of the group due to an indiscretion on the part of one of the members of the family, and for that reason they moved away from the area of high Japanese concentration. This social isolation from the group, of which the physical distance was a symbol, initiated a process of family demoralization and dependency of a serious nature. An accident to the bread winner left the family without the neighborly assistance of the

Japanese community and the family was forced to sacrifice its pride and self-respect by accepting public aid.

An illustration of this process carried further is found in the case of Yoshie, a seventeen year old Japanese girl, a member of a family which had already lost status in the rural Japanese community due to a serious sex offense on the part of one of its members. The depth of demoralization of the girl was reflected by the fact that

"She used to hang around the soda fountain or post office and talk to every man who came near the place. She showed no preference for any nationality. . . . The girl is often found living with Porto Ricans, especially after the death of the father. . . . There was one Porto Rican group with whom she associated a great deal. . . . She has had a checkered employment record, having been discharged many times for running out with men."²²

One of the significant facts in connection with the much discussed Fukunaga case was the degree of isolation of the youthful murderer from any cultural group. As one of the examining physicians stated, "He had been educated in American schools and had learned to dislike everything Japanese."²³ Ashamed of and alienated from his own cultural group, he sought valiantly to acquire status within the so-called American community, only to be discouraged on every hand—school, occupation and community—to be assigned a position of permanent inferiority. His subsequent more or less wild and irrational behavior is undoubtedly partially conditioned by the fact that he lacked friendly and stabilizing contacts with any group. "I have few friends in Honolulu. I am a lonesome boy."²⁴

²¹ Case Record from social agency.

²² Court testimony.

²³ Fukunaga Confession, Honolulu Star Bulletin, Oct. 3, 1928.

²⁴ Interview with Visiting Teacher.

ECONOMIC MALADJUSTMENT IN THE GHETTO
AND THE SLUM

Not only do the isolated individuals of the diverse racial groups tend to deviate from the accepted norms of their own and of the conventional American community, but they are also likely to break under the economic pressure of modern competitive life. A totally disproportionate ratio of the cases of dependency comes from areas of the greatest heterogeneity of population, while the racial ghettos scattered throughout the city succeed fairly well in providing for their own needy members. Individuals and families requiring outside material or other aid are by no means absent in these areas, but the greater part of such assistance is provided through the informal devices of mutual aid and neighborliness. Nevertheless, the number of cases which demand the attention of the public systems of charity are decidedly fewer in number than would be found in the slums and other mixed racial areas.

Although they represent the lower economic strata of Oriental society, the Japanese camps furnish a low ratio of individuals and families dependent upon public aid. Almost without exception, such cases as do appear in these insular camps represent prolonged illness or widowhood for which the limited economic resources of the small neighborhood are inadequate. Cases involving moral turpitude or serious deviation from accepted Japanese standards rarely appear in the Social Service Bureau files from the racially homogeneous areas.

The demoralized individual finds a more congenial atmosphere within the non-descript slums. Indices of dependency for 1928 based upon the population by census enumeration tracts reveal with but one exception a lower Japanese rate in the areas of concentrated Japanese population than for the city at large.

The incidence and distribution of Chinese dependency are largely conditioned by the historical circumstances attending Chinese immigration into the Islands. At the time of the earliest Chinese movement to Hawaii the principal concern of those controlling the process was in procuring cheap and efficient labor for the plantations. As a result few Chinese women were attracted to the Territory, and except for the few who were willing to disregard deeply ingrained distastes for outmarriage, they were left without wives and families. These men are now too old to provide for their own meagre wants, and having no children or relatives to care for them they constitute the major poor relief burden upon both the Chinese and the larger communities.

The Chinese indigents manifest more of a tendency to concentrate at the centers of Chinese population in the city. Over fifty per cent of all the Chinese cases for 1928 appearing in the files of the Social Service Bureau were old men without family connections in Honolulu, who are usually supported in part by the numerous Chinese mutual benefit societies and the spontaneous neighborliness within the Chinese community, a much larger burden of poor relief for superannuated agricultural workers would fall upon the shoulders of the public. As in the case of the Japanese, relief cases involving serious violation of Chinese mores are rarely found within a highly concentrated Chinese community.

The Portuguese population, which showed the greatest tendency toward concentration according to the census enumeration tracts of 1920, illustrates most effectively the principles of the conservation of personal and social stability within the ghetto. The rate of public dependency for the city as a whole was 1.07, while the rates within the three highly concentrated census areas were 0.54, 0.36, and 0.60 respectively.

An interesting example of the rôle of Portuguese neighborliness in meeting its own dependency problems is found in the following excerpt from the record of a social agency case in K-a-u:

"May had lived for years in the K-a-u Portuguese section with her husband and family of six children when the former grew tired of domestic life and deserted to the mainland. Worker called to see Mrs. J about her family situation. Mrs. J stated that she had talked over her plans with her various friends who live in K-a-u and had come to the following decision. Mrs. C. will take Frank and keep him until Mrs. J. is again able to establish her home. Mrs. C. owns her own property and receives a nice income from her vineyard. She stated she would be glad to take Frank and keep him indefinitely. Mrs. H. has signified her willingness to take Albert, the two year old, and keep him indefinitely. She does not wish 'care and custody papers' nor to adopt the boy. She is taking him solely because she is sorry for Mrs. J. Mrs. O., an elderly Portuguese widow, who owns her own home on Y street, is most anxious to have Elizabeth (8) come and stay with her indefinitely. She regards Elizabeth more or less as a grand daughter as she has known the J. family for many years. She stated that 'in a time like this she is willing to lend a hand.' Mrs. O. J., the paternal grandmother of the J. family stated she would be willing to take David and George to live with her. The children when they lived near used to run in and out of her home continually. Public opinion in K-a-u is set against this last move due to the fact that old Mrs. J. talked about Mrs. J. and aided and abetted her son in the recent difficulties. Mrs. J. does not wish to go against the wishes of her friends and will talk the matter over with her sisters. The various neighbors and friends decided on this arrangement because they knew Mr. J. would hear from his friends in K-a-u and they feel he will be very much ashamed to hear that his children were scattered all over K-a-u."

It is noteworthy that the Porto Rican, Korean, and Spanish groups, numerically the weakest of all the racial elements in the city and therefore least competent to build up areas of close settlement or to meet the demands of their needy, have the highest rates of public dependency. The

Porto Rican and Korean likewise rate among the highest in juvenile delinquency.

SUMMARY

Judged by the incidence of juvenile delinquency the racial colony or ghetto apparently provides a more wholesome atmosphere for the rearing of the second generation than the neighboring culturally non-descript residential area. Our data seem to show that "the children of the ghetto," to use Zangwill's phrase, are less likely to run afoul of the American law than their cousins who have escaped from the colony. Even after an extended period of accommodation to American urban life the sustaining influence of the mutual aid group constitutes an important insurance factor against the many pitfalls of the modern individualized and impersonalized existence, especially within the slum.

The first generation to an even greater degree is dependent upon the understanding and sympathy which the colony alone can afford. In times of crises—accident, death, and disaster, its function is particularly evident but its sustaining and restraining influence is apparently never absent from those "within the pale." The explanation of the relatively high degree of stability and social solidarity of the first generation immigrant is to be found in the compelling nature of the standards enforced within the racial ghetto. The exodus from the ghetto measures the emancipation of the immigrant from old world morals, with a concomitant enlargement of vision and opportunity for individual advancement, but it initiates as well the process of individualization with its attendant personal and social disorganization. Those racio-cultural groups in Hawaii which have progressed the furthest in the deculturizing process as measured by their geographical dispersion are likewise most disorganized.

MENTAL FACTORS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR JUVENILE COURT CONSIDERATION

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UNDER this topic we might very well take up for discussion the type of children who get into juvenile courts. We might show from the cases that have been studied by the Bureau of Mental Health and Hygiene of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, how important a part is played by the mental make-up of a child in his difficulties of adjustment that lead to his being brought into the juvenile court. Such cases would make it clear that defect in general intelligence and faulty organization of normal general intelligence both play important rôles in juvenile anti-social behavior. We might also quote statistics on these points, both for juvenile and adult delinquents. Such a treatment would be both interesting and profitable. Presentation of such cases and such statistics would emphasize the importance of factors in behavior difficulties that can not be too much emphasized. That is why, even though these points have been mentioned many times in connection with discussions of the problems of the juvenile court, I have felt compelled to again make a reference to their importance.

However, the point upon which I wish to concentrate at this time is of a more general nature. I want to present the significance of a single mental factor that is of very great importance in all the various situations in which living beings find themselves, and yet a factor which is all too frequently left out of account by those who are trying to plan so as to guide human behavior. This factor may be referred to as mental set, neural set, or determining tendency; or, in less technical language, as expectation.

The results of the following simple experiment give conclusive evidence of how strongly these sets may affect behavior. A class of psychology students served as the experimental group. The instructor standing before this class said, "I want to see how well you can make size discriminations. I have in my hands two blocks that are almost, but not quite identical. I am going to hold them up in front of you for just a brief moment. During that moment, please decide which of the two blocks is the larger. Is the block in the left hand or the block in the right hand the larger?" The instructor then held up before the class two wooden cubes, identical in size, measuring thirty-six millimeters to a side. Despite the size identity, eighty-eight of the total group of ninety students were so influenced by the set established through the instructor's *suggestions* that the boxes were of unequal size, that they made the erroneous judgment of one of the two blocks being larger than the other.

Each situation to which an individual reacts is met by him with a certain set or expectation. Insofar as we neglect to take this factor into account, we are really failing to understand human behavior—we are frequently expecting people to do things that they can not do because of their sets; we are failing to take steps to establish sets or expectations that might be valuable. But what bearing has this upon juvenile courts?

As I look back to conditions as they were before juvenile court procedure came into existence, and think of the handling of young children who had behaved contrary to the established codes of conduct,

I can not but be impressed by the immense gain that has come with the juvenile courts. At their best, the juvenile courts guarantee many things. They guarantee the separate handling of the children who were formerly mixed in with adult offenders, many of them of the hardened criminal type. They guarantee the doing away with all or, at least, most of those formalities of court procedure that formerly tended to fix in the mind of the youthful delinquent the enormity of his behavior. They guarantee the elimination of the publicity that formerly made the delinquent a hero in his own eyes and in the eyes of his group; or else on the other hand tended to make him feel ostracized by society. They guarantee the providing of a judge, human, humane, kind, who attempts more to understand those who come before him than to merely measure their behavior, assign it to its proper legal category and then apply the prescribed penalty. At its best, the juvenile courts do all this and much more.

Yet on the other hand, the juvenile court, as a permanent institution, is to be deplored. The juvenile court is the logical *first step* in a socially progressive direction for a society with a history like ours: a society steeped in the legal traditions of considering the offense and not the offender, of the infallibility of the courts and the judges, of the necessity of handling every case of conflict between individual desires and the welfare of the group as a whole by the ponderous and weighty legal machinery that had been developed through the centuries. Such a society could not be expected to make at once the one purely rational move in the handling of youthful delinquents, namely, the entire separation of this handling from the courts and all ideas associated with them. So while we have made the progress indicated by the fundamental conceptions underlying the

juvenile court plan, it is to be regretted that we have not been able to forget, at least in our speech, that there is such a thing as a court or a legal regulation when it comes to the handling of delinquent children.

It is, of course, necessary to have a legal basis upon which to proceed in such handling. At the same time, it is unfortunate that this fact should have to be brought constantly to the minds of the children themselves and to the minds of all those adults interested in the given case—parents, persons who make the decision in the case, welfare workers, etc.—by calling the method a court, and the one who presides a judge.

The question has frequently been asked, "What's in a name anyway?" And the attitude has always been that names themselves mean little. This however, is a false conception; words are powerful things because of what they have come to stand for. It is not true that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." If one is told that he is going to be given a rose, he is, because of his past experience, already prepared for something sweet. Then, when the rose is actually placed in his hand, it has a sweeter odor because of the expected sweetness. The rose received under these circumstances would actually seem sweeter than if the person had been told beforehand that he was going to receive a nasturtium, or a pansy, because these words do not suggest sweetness.

And so the term "court" and the term "judge" have come to mean austerity, severity, hardness, punishment, perhaps justice, but if so, justice untempered by kindness. It is really surprising how soon these terms of the court and judge take on these types of ideas in the minds of children. And so it is that children all too frequently come to even the best, the kind-

est, and the most human juvenile court judge with the expectations of the opposite type of individual and institution. They come with a feeling of fear rather than confidence, with an attitude of hostility and antagonism rather than one of friendliness and cooperation. And such attitudes make the work of adjustment just that much more difficult, both for the child and for the social group and the individuals directly interested in his welfare. It is for this reason that it is decidedly unfortunate that we could not, in name at least, have separated the agencies for dealing with juvenile offenders from courts and judges. The importance of this factor of expectation on the part of children in relation to juvenile courts and other correctional institutions can not be overemphasized.

It is extremely unfortunate that public welfare superintendents and social workers frequently do things, that can not help but increase the wrong sort of expectation in children in relation to our juvenile courts and our state institutions. Thus, the telling of a child that he will have to go to the juvenile court if he does not behave does nothing but enhance the fear, the antagonism, the uncooperative attitude with which he will meet the judge of the juvenile court if he is finally sent there. And the judge who tells the child, as too many of them do, that if he does not stop staying away from home nights, or stealing, or what not, he will be taken from his home and sent to Stonewall Jackson, is doing much to change that child's idea that the place is a school into the idea that it is a place of punishment—a jail. And the children who go to Stonewall Jackson or to Samarcand with the expectation that they are going to a jail present a much greater problem for the superintendents of these institutions than the children who go with the expectation that they are

going to be in schools. To the child with the expectation that such an institution is a jail, the superintendent becomes a jailor, a tyrant, and an administrator of punishment. And it is a difficult task indeed for the kindest person to convince the child who expects him to be a tyrant that he is not one.

Not only does the use of legal terms, court and judge, cause definite expectations or attitudes on the part of children, but it also causes just as definite and just as important and just as unfortunate expectations and attitudes on the part of adults.

The very fact of being called a judge in most instances, makes the man so called—the man who has to make the final disposition of the children brought into the juvenile court—assume a definite attitude. With the best of intentions in the world, the man who is called a *judge* and feels himself connected with a court is much more apt to assume all the traditional attitudes and methods of judicial court procedure than if he were called plain *Mister* and were occupying the position of Director of a Bureau of Juvenile Research. William Jones, as a judge, is much more apt to consider the undesirable behavior as a crime than as a logical product of the individual's innate neural equipment and the training to which he has been subjected. *Judge* Jones is much more apt in planning the handling of the child to consider what is the punishment that should be administered for a particular act than to consider *only* what treatment will tend to produce the best readjustment of the child. As a *Judge*, the old idea of treatment which will prevent the reoccurrence of the undesirable conduct through fear of the consequences of that conduct will be apt to play a much larger rôle in the disposition of the case, and there will be a much lesser rôle played by the idea of so treating the child that he will desire and

get more satisfaction out of some better kind of conduct. While, of course, incompetence and lack of training play a part in such juvenile court behavior, there is an additional and important part played by this more subtle thing, this *mantle* of the old formal "judicialness" that settles down upon one like an enshrouding garment with the application of the title of judge. This same William Jones—*Mister Jones*—as Director of the Bureau of Juvenile Research will, at least partly because of the difference in title, have more of the scientific research attitude. He will be more apt to be interested in causes and consequences and methods of reeducation than in crimes and punishments and fear deterrents of undesirable behavior.

And what we have said of judges is true also of probation officers. The idea of probation is wonderful, but, and especially applied to juveniles, its definite linking with the courts and older offenders has given it such an odor of the courts as to make the attitude of the probation officer tend, usually, to be the conventional attitude of police officers towards criminals. Probation in too many cases, especially when applied to the child, is a club. It means, in fact, that the courts "will get you if you don't watch out." And the excellent idea of probation as a period during which children might be tried out to see if an adjustment of their behavior might not be possible through study and cooperation has degraded in most every instance into this reprehensible thing of a period during which adults are trying to see if the threat of courts and the state schools and of removal from home may not frighten the child into being good. It has degraded into this not because the adults dealing with the children are vicious, but largely because of the attitudes engendered in them by the association of the word "probation" with the court procedure.

Another term connected with the handling of children that also fosters all these false expectations and attitudes in both the child and the adult is "detention home." Whoever first thought of this coupling of two such antithetical words to describe the mechanism for keeping children under observation must have been confronted with the impossible situation of retaining strictly legal ideas and at the same time robbing them of their legal connotations. The real meaning that is frequently attached to "detention home" is very clearly indicated by the fact that in one North Carolina county it is commonly referred to as the "Juvenile Prison."

Nobody has attended many juvenile court sessions without having been impressed by the attitude of the parents. In too many cases this attitude has been one of considering this court primarily punitive in nature. Some parents make use of the juvenile courts as more powerful means of punishing their children than they themselves possess. After they have tried everything possessed by them, the juvenile court is a last resort. Others try to protect their children from the juvenile courts. In either case, we see that the expectation of parents is the same as that of the children—the words *court*, *judge*, *detention* and *probation* have made them expect from the juvenile court formal legal procedure, punishment, and control.

Of course, the adequate remedy for all this would be to do away with the names not only in practice but in principle. It is doubtful, at the present time, that the legal objections which might be raised to this procedure could be overcome. Nevertheless, the condition might be bettered if juvenile courts and all who come in contact with children who have behaved in a manner contrary to the wishes of the established order should guard against the danger in themselves and in the children of the attitudes here suggested.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION THROUGH CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS¹

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COMMUNITY organization in the National Capital reveals peculiar differences from that in other cities by virtue of conditions obtaining there. This article will deal with a group of associations which, in the sphere of civic interests, may be said to be unique. This uniqueness consists in the extent to which voluntary community organization has been carried, not in the fact of community organization itself.

There are city-wide associations of a voluntary nature in Washington, and local neighborhood groups. The associations here considered began as neighborhood groups but through federation have assumed city-wide scope. Hence it is impossible to classify them as exclusively one or the other. There are a limited number of city-wide associations other than those now under review professing civic purposes and having civic programs. All of

these must be included in a picture of citizens associations in Washington.²

The local situation giving rise to what is known as citizens' Associations was sketched by Edward T. Devine in 1927.³ Devine characterized the situation somewhat as follows: (1) The citizens of the District of Columbia are voteless, and there is thus no responsible (to them) government.⁴ (2) Taxation is not voted by the citizens, but there is nevertheless

² Notably, the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association; on occasion the Real Estate Board, the Operative Builders Association, the District Bar Association, and the usual list of civic bodies of a congenial or trade nature found in any large city. Another and different group is allied directly with the Federation (See Chart I and Note 10).

³ "Citizens Associations of a Unique Community." *Sociology and Social Research*, XIII, no. 2, Nov.-Dec., 1928. Originally presented as a paper before the American Sociological Society meeting in Washington, December, 1927.

⁴ This votelessness of the local people, significant though it is as a stimulus to civic interest, makes it appear that the chief and only function of the associations is political. That the matter should be so regarded is at least questionable, despite the prominent place assigned by the organizations to aspirations for national representation and local franchise. See discussion to follow.

¹ The author is indebted to officials, past and present, of the Federations for the data of this paper, and to the files of the *Washingtonia* section of the Public Library for historical material. For lack of detailed data, relatively little attention has been given to the work of the colored organizations. Where the term "Federation" is used in this article for brevity, the white Federation is meant.

"taxation without representation."⁵ (3) The large proportion of Federal employees in the population affects civic consciousness; possibly limiting frank discussion of public issues.⁶ (4) Clerical occupations and "consumers interests" prevail; Washington is not an industrial city. (5) There are many winter residents and transients in the city; the population is relatively unstable. (6) Close proximity to National events pall the interest in strictly local civic affairs which individuals might otherwise feel.⁷

Fundamentally, there would be no citizens organization of the sort here discussed without neighborhood units. Various city-wide associations have civic interests, as indicated, but they are primarily "interest groups" whose interests sometimes broaden to cover all that one might call citizenship. The difference between federated citizens' groups and these "special interest" groups is that the

⁵ But the "taxpayers" of the District seem to have closer allegiance with the so-called "trade organizations" than with the citizens associations.

⁶ It is possible to define a certain cleavage between citizens associations and trade bodies suggesting that the former are predominantly concerned with the interests of government workers while the latter respond to the "taxpayers" sensitivities; that the former represent just plain citizens, while the latter represent "substantial" citizens, etc. Thus when the Fitzgerald compensation law was under consideration in 1926 it was charged that the Council of the Federations was dominated by Federal employees, and that it needed the point of view of business men (Wash. Star, March 7, 1926). The writer was unable to define in his brief investigations any other direct effects upon civic consciousness of Federal government, such as Devine implies, though the indirect effects are obvious and numerous.

⁷ Unfortunately, it would seem, there is not a wholly sympathetic feeling between local government and Congress, or municipal and Federal functionaries. This manifests itself in sporadic muckraking indulged in by individual members of Congress (often, no doubt, in good faith and with good intent) and the contrasting local spirit played up in newspaper editorials and cartoons.

latter usually frankly admit their special bias, whereas the former are charged with it by their enemies, actually claiming a general "representative" character consistent with American political traditions.

There are 54 white affiliated neighborhood citizens associations in the city of Washington,⁸ representing areas which nearly cover the District of Columbia. There are two or more associations not affiliated with the Federation. There are 19 colored affiliated civic associations, also claiming representativeness for the entire district; and one or more non-affiliated organizations.

These white and colored neighborhood units are organized into the Federation of Citizens Associations and the Federation of Civic Associations respectively, thus giving each group city-wide interests. Membership in the neighborhood group is characteristically open to any *bona fide* resident of the neighborhood, and, in addition, to those owning property or doing business in the neighborhood, subject to approval of the membership committee and the vote of the organization. The color line and residence are the only limiting factors, usually, except the indefinable ones of interest of the eligibles and acceptability to the officials. The neighborhood associations are in turn members of the Federations and have the right to designate two members each to act as delegates to their respective Federations. The Federations, in turn, through their Assemblies of Delegates, elect their own officers and organize.⁹ In addition to the neighbor-

⁸ *Citizens* associations are organizations of white citizens; *Civic* associations are organizations of colored citizens.

⁹ Standing committees are appointed by the President of the Federation as follows: law and legislation; public utilities; public health; highways, parks and waterways; education; public celebrations; membership and credentials; public welfare; police and fire protection; auditing and examining; zoning

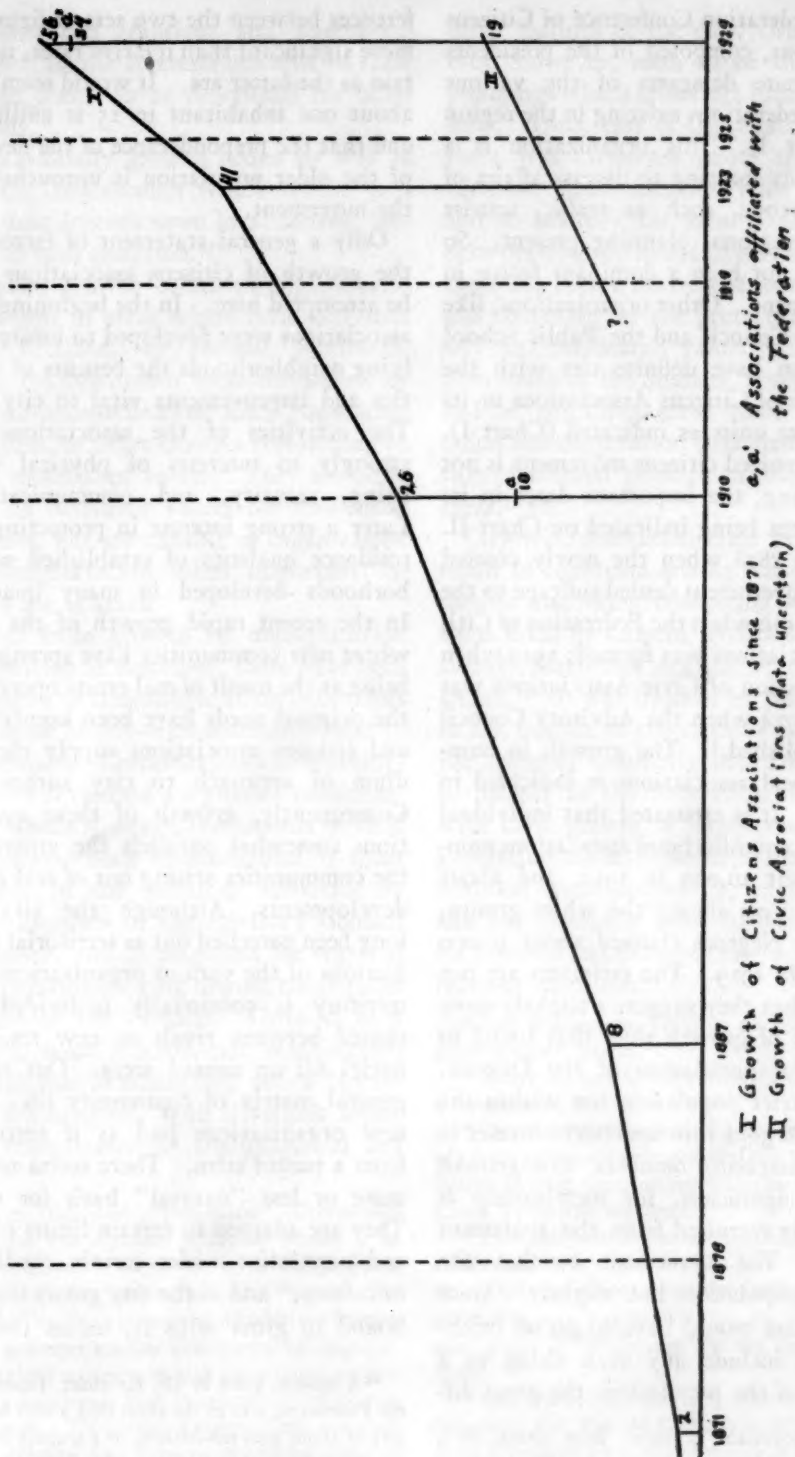


CHART II

the Interfederation Conference of Citizens Associations, composed of the presidents and alternate delegates of the various (white) Federations existing in the region (see Chart I). This organization is a liaison body meeting to discuss affairs of regional scope, such as traffic, tourist trade, or regional planning present. So far it has not been a dominant factor in the movement. Other organizations, like the Safety Council and the Public School Association have definite ties with the Federation of Citizens Associations or its subordinate units as indicated (Chart I).

The organized citizens movement is not a new thing; the important dates in its development being indicated on Chart II. They are: 1878 when the newly created District government denied suffrage to the citizens; 1910 when the Federation of Citizens Associations was formed; 1919 when the Federation of Civic Associations was formed; 1924 when the Advisory Council was established.¹¹ The growth in numbers of local associations is indicated in Chart II. It is estimated that individual persons in neighborhood associations numbered about 20,000 in 1920, and about 30,000 in 1929 among the white groups, while the Negroes claimed about 10,000 members in 1929. The estimates are not accurate, but they suggest a slightly more rapid rate of growth than that found in the general population of the District. Since District population has within the last decade gone into apartment houses in rapidly increasing numbers, this growth is more significant, for membership is not readily recruited from the apartment dwellers. The movement touches the floating population but slightly. Since this increase would have to go on indefinitely to include any such thing as a majority of the population, the gross dif-

ferences between the two sets of figures is more significant than relative rates, uncertain as the latter are. It would seem that about one inhabitant in 15 is affiliated, and that the preponderance of the new, as of the older population is untouched by the movement.

Only a general statement of factors in the growth of citizens associations will be attempted here. In the beginning, the associations were developed to insure outlying neighborhoods the benefits of utilities and improvements vital to city life. The activities of the associations ran strongly to interests of physical well-being, security, and communications. Later a strong interest in protecting the residence qualities of established neighborhoods developed in many quarters. In the recent rapid growth of the city, where new communities have sprung into being as the result of real estate operations the original needs have been keenly felt, and citizens associations supply the medium of approach to city authorities. Consequently, growth of these associations somewhat parallels the growth of the communities arising out of real estate developments. Although the city has long been parcelled out as territorial jurisdictions of the various organizations, the territory is continually re-divided and shared between rivals as new residence nuclei fill up unused areas. Out of the general matrix of community life, these new organizations bud as if sprouting from a parent stem. There seems to be a more or less "natural" basis for them. They are adapted to certain limits of area and population under certain conditions of culture,¹² and as the city grows they are bound to grow with it, unless the city

¹¹ The movement is dated from about 1871, though the older Georgetown association claims lineage from the founding of the Federal city.

¹² A random guess by Dr. Havenner, President of the Federation, was to the effect that a well built up area of about 5000 inhabitants, or a sparsely built up area of about 2500 inhabitants offered the ideal conditions for an active neighborhood association.

becomes too transient and apartment-minded, or the interests centered in these groups ceases to be functional for other reasons.

Occasionally growth comes by way of conflict, and conflict which results in a new unit depends upon local factors, specific to each situation.¹³

Again, growth comes through revival of interest in areas where civic activities have declined, or become moribund. There are downtown areas threatened by railroad encroachments, alien population invasions, or other changes threatening to upset established values. They are often areas of declining values for residential purposes, but are capable of organization or re-organization when important interests are at stake.

Aside from growth by multiplication and division as described, there have been tendencies to consolidate along other lines than those of city-wide federation later to be discussed. Certain regions of Washington have developed a regional "consciousness" which is, again, the product of local differences. Such consciousness is most manifest in the political activities by which members of the Advisory Council are chosen, and in proposals for regional representation looking toward the popular election of the Council. There is in a political sense a South-east Washington, a North-east Washington, and a North-west Washington, with divisions somewhat complicated by topographical and

other features of the city. More important, however, seem to be the regional groupings which arise from localized problems. Thus, east of the Anacostia River there was concerted effort to establish adequate communication with the city, and to beautify the area.¹⁴ In a newly developed region about Observatory Circle there has been a movement to consolidate and cooperate for the protection of property and residential values.¹⁵ In the region south of the Soldiers' Home grounds and in adjoining areas there has been union and cooperation to control the invasion of colored population into "white" areas,¹⁶ etc.

City-wide federation came in 1910 as a result of confusion arising out of the numerous and often conflicting representations made by citizens' groups to congressional committees dealing with District affairs.¹⁷ It was inspired by persons both in and outside of the citizens groups, and the sponsors originally hoped to be able to include in the Federation other city-wide civic groups of importance.¹⁸ The Federation began, however, with 18 neighborhood organizations (a, a ; Chart II), and has gradually come to include most such groups and the seven city-wide organizations mentioned.

¹⁴ East Washington Boosters Association, composed of 6 local groups.

¹⁵ Mount Alban's Citizens Council, composed of 6 local groups.

¹⁶ This movement has resulted in the consolidation of 2 local groups and in concerted action by a varying number of local organizations, sometimes presenting almost a city-wide movement.

¹⁷ There had been several attempts to organize the associations on a city-wide basis from 1887 on, all failing for one reason or another until 1910. The problem in 1910 was to overcome the fear held by local groups of "absorption" by the larger organization.

¹⁸ Tom Grant, then Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and Wm. McK. Clayton, first President of the Federation are names appearing in this connection (Wash. Herald, Sept. 4, 1911).

¹³ Thus, the new "Progressive" Georgetown Association was organized to include women in its membership, which the old Georgetown Association failed to do. The Tacoma Park, D. C. organization established itself as a separate entity when the District schools and other utilities were overrun by neighboring Maryland residents, though the original association included areas in both Maryland and the District of Columbia. The Columbia Heights Forum resulted from a political feud between disaffected members and a past regime of officers.

The situation remained chaotic, nevertheless, so far as liaison between citizens' groups and local officials were concerned, because there were too many city-wide groups in action, and the citizens' federation could not act expeditiously enough on matters of civic importance referred to it. An effort, prompted by the then City Commissioner Bell, following earlier efforts of a similar nature, to organize the many civic groups into one homogeneous organ resulted in the Advisory Council,¹⁹ which is a small group, able to consult directly with officials on public business. This function of consultation seemed originally to have been for the benefit of the District Commissioners alone, to give them a sense of the united citizens' opinion on public issues.²⁰ The Council, however, almost immediately assumed the initiative, due to past tradition and conditions prevailing in the government at the time, and undertook to influence the action of all public officials having anything to do with local government. This brought the Council very soon into conflict with groups similarly active, such as the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce and others (even the District Commissioners themselves) so that it faced a political fight against its continued influence. The favored relations with the Commissioners, for which its Sponsor

¹⁹ Organizations mentioned in Note 2 have consistently remained aloof from affiliation with the citizens movement, except to cooperate where common interests dictated. A proposal to give them representation on the Council by adding 2 members from the Washington Board of Trade, 2 members from the Chamber of Commerce, 2 members from the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and 6 members from the Central Labor Union failed.

²⁰ The "organic act" establishing the Council reads: "The Council shall act as an advisory body to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia upon matters affecting said District, but it shall not in any way restrict the activities, or abridge the rights, of the Federations—or their respective bodies."

Commissioner Bell had been chiefly responsible, were lost, and the relations of the Council to the Federation and the local associations called in question. The right of the Council to speak for itself, not simply as a mouthpiece of the Federation upon questions which had been referred to it, was upheld by the Federation,²¹ but the activities of the Council have assumed a more frankly political character as a result. It was even a part of the plan to make the Council a quasi-governmental organ with official status—its members to be elected by popular vote; and it was this possibility that precipitated the conflict over its position and influence.²²

In this rather hasty review of organization, it is impossible to do justice to all the factors in such a movement. There are a number of things which deserve closer scrutiny than they have received, such as the neighborhood or community basis of local groups. It should be possible, in such a civic movement as this, to describe clearly the precise civic functions being performed and the persons for whom they are being performed. This would show clearly what the natural conditions surrounding healthy activity of these associations are. At present there is a great deal of difficulty over boundaries of the local groups, and disputes over boundaries have repeatedly been brought to the Federation. The Federation has denied responsibility for determining boundaries. No one in or out of the movement seems to know when a new organization should or should not be recognized. All applying have so far been recognized. These difficulties are no doubt "growing pains" of a

²¹ Resolution presented at the Federation meeting of May 7, 1927.

²² Statement of Commissioner Bell (*Wash. Star*, May 5, 1925). At the present time the proposal to give the Council official status is being held for a suitable occasion.

vigorous movement, but some stability of constitution seems to be the end-point of the process of development, if the movement is to subsist on something more than the immediate dynamics of city growth. Other criticisms of the movement²³ suggest the desirability of some evaluation of activities, if it is to be assumed that the movement is one of general community concern, and not the arena for the doctrinaire, discontented, or politically ambitious.

It seems that out of the manifold activities of the past²⁴ two functions emerge

²³ It was stated by former Commissioner Brownlow (Star, Dec. 12, 1926) that the internal weaknesses of the movement where: (1) failure of some neighborhood associations to obtain an area-wide membership and solidarity, (2) others have been tight little cliques and coteries of interested persons, (3) while occasionally there is merely an aggregation of "me-too poll-parrots" grouped about some dominant person. External weaknesses were: (1) failure of the public at large to appreciate the changes, growth and improvements which have taken place in the movement in recent years, (2) the occasional efforts by outsiders to exploit the association for special purposes (petty politicians, and reformers, particularly).

²⁴ These activities are analyzed by Devine (note 3); others may be inferred from the committee organization of the Federations (note 9); while a brief list of matters acted upon by the Federation will suggest the concrete aspects somewhat. Thus, up to 1922, the Federation had been active in: (1) the creation of a public utilities commission; (2) lower street car fares, transfer privileges, and half fares for children; (3) traction merger plans; (4) prohibition enforcement in the District; (5) wages of District employees, street workers, office help, and those of policemen, firemen and teachers; (6) conditions of work, especially of street car motormen and firemen; (7) collective bargaining in street car disputes; (8) care of dependent children; (9) educational exhibits of the states, and local promotional work; (10) the 30-50 tax plan for joint District and Federal support of the city; (11) free text books in the grade and high schools of the District; (12) suffrage; (13) compensation and retirement legislation; (14) the form of government affecting school administration, District government, and relations with the Federal government. Some of

which are worthy of brief discussion here. One is the function of supplying responsible public officials with an expression of public opinion on important issues which is a mature, digested expression of community sentiment, not a mere collection of individual opinions or demands. The other is the function of educating the citizenry upon public issues, which is an important result of their discussion in local meetings.²⁵ Both of these functions are suggested by the following quotation from former commissioner Brownlow:

"Whenever, when I was commissioner, and I assume it is still the same, some little group of people in any community calling themselves a citizens association expressed an opinion about anything, if it were actually the opinion of that community nothing else was said. But if the association guessed wrong the people of that section found means, and instant means, to let the commissioners know what it really felt. And at the next meeting of the association there would be a bigger crowd and a big debate and maybe a reversal.

"This I do know: That in Washington the administrative government seeks the advice of the people with respect to the community problems, that it

these are current interests, and in addition there are problems of city planning, especially the acquisition of parklands and highways, the relocation of local public markets incident to city planning, national representation, appointments to office, and the like, engaging the interests of the Associations.

²⁵ A negative function, that of protest against and check upon disapproved conduct of city officials, and its positive aspects, those of promotion of preferred interests, might be added. This function, vigorously exercised, has probably been the source of greatest irritation to the critics of the movement—critics who are not only officials, but who carry on these same activities for other civic groups. Such activity, a source of conflict though it is, can scarcely be considered a condemnation of the movement. Each individual association has a fourth function, of course, strictly localized, that of building up neighborhood life. It is this function in its material aspects which explains the beginnings of each of the organizations. The exercise of this function is closely linked with the two above mentioned, however, as soon as their social and non-material aspects appear.

relies with increasing confidence from year to year upon the citizens associations; that the citizens associations are increasingly sensible of the burden of their responsibility, and that here in Washington, deprived of the ballot box, we have devised a new engine of dynamic democracy which is not a mere substitute for the pole, but a complementary necessity of popular government." (Washington Star, Dec. 12, 1926.)

Mr. Brownlow further asserts that from his experience as city manager elsewhere, it is his opinion that the ballot box results in political activity centered about the personalities of those seeking office, and aided the administrator very little in knowing public opinion upon specific issues; whereas citizens associations focussed public opinion upon issues and policies, but not so much upon persons.

As organization has progressed from spontaneously formed neighborhood groups to city-wide federation, and then to organization for semi-governmental, if not political, purposes, it is possible that a change in the nature and relative importance of the functions above discussed may be occurring. Neither of these functions is *primarily* political. They are educative and informative, and are based squarely upon opinion in the communities, somewhat as occurred in the old New England town meetings, with which this movement is sometimes compared. It has been noted, however, that since federation, and particularly since the creation of the Council, the dominant interest in discussion turns more often to the merits of persons—persons who are either candidates for office, or are involved in some public issue. Less attention, relatively, is given to the merits of public questions themselves. The focus of attention, in short, may be drifting away from the activities of the neighborhood groups to the activities of the Advisory Council, even the Federation suffering by comparison with pre-Council years. If this drift is a real

one, it seems undeniably an important one, since the continued vitality of the citizens movement *as a representative* movement clearly rests upon the strength and soundness of the local units. What happens to either the Council or the Federation seems of little consequence compared with what is happening to the neighborhood units.²⁶

²⁶ A political fight which centered upon the Council soon after its creation brought out some of the possible trends. A letter to the Federation from the Georgetown Association, dated February 24, 1926, asserts among other things that (1) The Council reduces the Federation to a mere electoral college. (2) The Council being elected by about 100 votes cannot be representative. (3) The Council has acted upon measures at variance with the wishes of the Federation. (4) The Federation has not gone ahead, due to (a) the feeling that it must accept the decisions of the Council, and (b) a policy on the part of government officials which leads them to take recommendations from the Council as representative of public opinion even when opposed by the citizens associations. In a motion to restrict the powers of the Council, Mr. Ayers recited that (1) it would take the Council out of politics. (2) It would enlarge the influence of the Council. (3) It would clarify and define the functions of the Council. (4) It would provide a closer contact between the Council and the parent body, the Federation. (5) It would make the actions of the Council continuous, cumulative, and give it all the prestige and weight of the Federation, insofar as the Federation concurred in the action of the Council. (6) It would prevent friction within the Federation, and conflict between the two bodies. This view of the proper status of the Council, (as a sort of "executive committee" of the Federation), was also vigorously asserted by the trade bodies opposed to the growing prestige of the citizens movement, with its entrance into the immediate affairs of administration.

As indicated (Note 21) the Federation upheld the independence of the Council and it was felt in many quarters that the Council was leading to greater prestige for the movement, and was drawing into its circle higher grade ability. It is significant, however, that a former president of the Federation proposed that a committee be appointed (shortly after the attack upon the Council by the Trade bodies) to investigate ways and means of building up the fallen prestige of the Federation (*Past*, Dec. 2, 1928, motion by J. G. Yaden).

Possibilities of re-defining the basic community activities of the citizens associations with respect to their city wide interests and functions are suggested in a few sporadic developments which have not, however, been generally taken up. The most important of these²⁷ is the appearance, during the past twelve years, of *junior citizens associations*. A former Superintendent of Schools in the District favored such associations. To date, there seems to be only one active organization of the

A good deal of this kind of thing should be regarded, of course, merely as political play in the control of the movement, and it is not intended here to give it too much weight. It may be indicative, merely, of certain newer dangers to which the movement, in its present prosperity, is exposed. It suggests the clashing values various groups and individuals in the movement conceive it to embody. There are several cases where local associations have withdrawn from membership in the Federation, as well as cases where affiliations have never been sought. An appraisal of the vitality and character of these groups might place the general movement in a better light.

²⁷ There was a short-lived Association of Civic Secretaries whose members were secretaries of the local organizations. There have also been attempts to form non-partisan citizens committees to propose and promote candidates for public office, an activity the Federation has officially frowned upon.

sort, whose work is sponsored by one of the neighborhood associations. It is a high school organization. A few of the associations have reported community center activities, but there is little concerted effort to promote this function in the neighborhoods, through neighborhood associations. There are numerous efforts to build up local institutions, such as schools, libraries, etc., but the effort stops with the provisions asked for, usually, and enters but slightly into the problem of organizing social relationships in the communities. There are, of course, programs for racial segregation, which solidify community sentiment, on both sides of the racial lines. The movement as a whole undoubtedly has great potential values from the standpoint of social organization but there is some slight danger, at least, that it will fail to realize the fullest possibilities of organized community life, and the importance of the less tangible values of local public opinion and the education of citizenship. Certainly no hostile prejudice should stand in the way of the fullest opportunities of these associations to perform their broader civic functions.

THE ADAPTATION OF SCHOOL CENTERS IN WASHINGTON TO CHANGING URBAN NEEDS

SIBYL BAKER

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THE first community centers in Washington were established in the movement of which E. J. Ward was the founder and chief exponent. It was not long before the character of these first centers altered as they met the test of practical application to the needs and demand of the communities. In that initial effort community center associations were

formed which were to have certain characteristics; (1) they were to be all-inclusive of the community and were to serve as neighborhood forums; (2) they were to formulate and to direct the programs of the centers; (3) they were to finance the conduct of the centers; (4) they were to select a manager for the center (known as a community secretary) who usually was

a volunteer or, if a paid worker, was to be paid by the community center association.

These associations ceased to exist in their original form for the following reasons: (1) they did not become fully representative of the community and so took on the character of social clubs to whom the conduct of a public center had been assigned; (2) as school buildings were opened as community centers and overhead expenses were met by appropriations of the public funds, it was simpler and more expeditious to let the responsibility rest with the Board of Education or its representative for appointing and paying the center manager (still, however, called a community secretary) and to leave with this employee the various tasks of organizing a program, educating the community to the opportunities offered, securing leaders, paid or volunteer, in addition to the routine duties of actually conducting the center, acting as host, registrar, bursar, and general superintendent.

In the past 15 years Washington's community centers have altered in response to changing conditions. The District of Columbia has an estimated population of 600,000, and area of about 65 square miles. A population and an area of this size assume some of the characteristics of a county or even of the smallest states. Subordinate centers develop with their own character, and here at least changing transportation conditions have intensified neighborhood unity. The automobile takes the householder easily to the center of the city and his work, but it also brings him back quickly to a home which is each year farther from and more independent of the urban center. These centers of community life take their own names, form their own citizens' associations, organize their own community festivals, promote their own business enterprises. Con-

sciousness of common neighborhood interests and the organization for communal activity is growing stronger here rather than weakening.

It is important that the public community centers should be responsive to these changing conditions. Today in Washington a community center is neither a building nor a program—it is an opportunity for a community to develop its own communal life. The necessity for educating the communities to these opportunities is still apparent, but the most progressive neighborhoods are recognizing what the more ignorant may be taught.

Our centers use school buildings which are open to the community at stated times. A center serves an area larger than can be called a neighborhood, but of such nature that it can be recognized as a community. The buildings used are, as far as possible, junior high schools because: (1) a complete junior high school offers ample facilities: indoors an auditorium with stage, gymnasiums, a music room, meeting rooms with movable furniture, and furniture large enough for adult use; outside some acres of land for recreation; (2) a junior high school serves a definite area of the city, is theoretically at the center of that area which includes six to eight elementary school districts. (3) There is already one community organization formed and delimited by this area, the parent teacher association of the junior high school united in communal interest. Some centers use more than one building; the facilities and equipment of all school buildings in the territory are at the disposal of the center. Centers are usually named for the territory they serve, as the Chevy Chase Center, the Southeast, the West Washington.

All community organizations in the territory served are requested to send representatives to the advisory committee of a

center. The chief weakness of this system is that many of the advisory committees are indifferent to the development of the centers, and feel themselves ineffective, as their chief function is to contrive means of financing the activities of the centers. Janitor service and the supervision and management of the center are carried by the public fund as far as the budget will permit, but club leaders and directors of activities must be paid either by fees required of the groups meeting or by funds raised by the communities in various ways. Trained leadership in organization is available to each center, but other leaders can be employed for only very limited part-time. Effort is made to draw together in the center the interests of citizens' associations, parent-teacher associations, and business men's associations. It is recognized that the organization of these advisory committees has stopped short of enlisting all the interests of the communities. We are seeking an improvement in order to keep the development of the centers as close to the development of the communal life of the communities as possible.

The Community Center Council is formed of representatives of all the advisory committees and certain members at

large for the city. This council is similarly limited in its representative character. It is not only a federation of the centers; it assumes also responsibility in the conduct of city festivals, the Fourth of July, the Community Christmas Tree. The Community Center Department also conducts certain city-wide programs such as the Community Institute, the Community Drama Guild, the Model Aircraft League. For each of these activities a special advisory board of citizens has been formed, but as yet no formal connection has been established between these advisory boards and the council.

Certain problems face us in the development of the community centers. Specifically we are asking: (1) Can school buildings be made to serve as real centers of community life? Our latest buildings, new handsome structures, well lighted and equipped with ample facilities, are more and more in demand by the communities. (2) Can the Community Center Council be made more effective by being more widely representative of the various community organizations in the city? (3) Community centers furnish an opportunity for community activity. How shall we educate the communities to use these opportunities?

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Twenty-fifth Anniversary meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, December 29-31, 1930, with head-quarters at the Hotel Hollenden. One or more programs will be devoted to history and trends in sociology, social research, statistics, the teaching of sociology, sociology and social work, the family, educational sociology, sociology or religion, the community, rural sociology, sociology and psychiatry.

Joint sessions will be held with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Farm Economic Association.

Meeting also in Cleveland are the American Council for the Advancement of Science and affiliated organizations.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY*

Contributions to this department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by ERNEST R. GROVES of the University of North Carolina.

THE MIGRANT FAMILY AND SOCIAL AGENCIES IN WASHINGTON

THE REGISTRATION OF MIGRANT FAMILIES BY FAMILY WELFARE AGENCIES IN NINE CITIES IN WASHINGTON

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THE appearance of migrant families in large numbers on the Pacific Coast has been stimulated by the seasonal nature of the industries of the region, by the development of cheap and rapid means of transportation, and by the establishment of camping sites along the main highways and in the region of the harvest fields. The migrant family has confronted social workers with new and complex problems. For the practices of many social agencies are still shaped by the "residence requirement" of the old poor law and are clearly ineffective when applied to a rapidly mobile group.

In order to determine the nature and extent of the problem, the Interstate Committee on Residence and Transportation of the Pacific Coast Conference of Social

Work undertook, in the summer of 1928, to study the migrant families known to social agencies in Washington, Oregon, and California. The committee's first project was a registration of migrant families for the six months period July 1, 1928 to December 31, 1928.¹

There are evident limitations to a study of migrant families known to social agencies. The group is a selected one and migration is only one of the criteria for selection and may be quite incidental to

¹ Agencies participating in the Washington registration were the City Mission, Bellingham; American Red Cross, Everett; American Red Cross, Longview; American Red Cross, Olympia; Social Welfare League, Seattle; Social Service Bureau, Spokane; Family Welfare Association, Tacoma; Y. W. C. A. Health Center, Walla Walla; and the County Commissioner's Office, Yakima.

* Although there was never greater attention given to the problems of marriage and the family, there is at present no scientific periodical devoted to their discussion. The journalist is invited by newspapers and popular magazines to exploit the widespread interest in matrimonial and family experiences, but aside from *The Family*, which is adapted to the needs of the social worker, and the child-study magazines, there is no publication that stresses the research and interpretation of the scientist.

The appearance of an ever increasing number of books treating problems of marriage and the family reveals the interest of the serious student and suggests the need of offering opportunity for the publication of scientific articles. This department of *SOCIAL FORCES* aims not only to provide space for such articles, but also to encourage the scientific study of marriage and the family.

problems of health and economic stress which may have been the occasion of application to the agencies. The findings of the Washington registration set forth in the following paragraphs will serve only to indicate problems for attention in a more comprehensive study of the migrant family.

The total number of migrant families registered by the nine cities in Washington during the period July 1, 1928 to December 31, 1928 was 263. One hundred and sixty registration blanks were selected for intensive study, the remaining ones having been discarded because they either anti-dated the registration period or were clearly not migrant families, but migrant individuals. It is evident that the committee's definition of "migrant family"² was variously interpreted. Some of the agencies laid emphasis on the mode of transportation, registering families who travelled by automobile, whether or not they were migrant. Other agencies stressed residence, reporting the names of families who were non-resident, regardless of the intent to establish residence. Walla Walla and Yakima agencies registered 99 families out of the 160. These cities are in eastern Washington in the region of the fruit and apple fields, but this fact alone would hardly account for the large number of registrations. It is evident that the term "migrant family" has been loosely interpreted.

The harvest season in Washington begins with the fruit and berry crops of the early summer and ends with the apple crops of the late autumn. It includes the months of July, August, September, and October. The six months chosen for the study therefore cover the periods when there are numbers of families at work in the harvest regions and the months of the

late fall when the fields are deserted and the unemployment begins. The number of families registered was least in July, increased somewhat in August, reached its high point in September and October, and decreased in November and December. By this time many of the families have gone south for the winter.

Mode of travel used was reported by 119 of the 160 families. Of this number, 85 travelled by automobile, 24 by train, and 10 by various other means. It is clear that the automobile is a significant factor in the equipment of the migrant family. Thirty-seven families were not accompanied by children. Twenty-eight of this number reported the mode of travel used, 14 reporting automobiles. One hundred twenty-three families were accompanied by children. Ninety-one of this number reported mode of travel, 71 reporting automobiles. The automobile was a more important part of the equipment of the large family.

Occupations of the chief wage-earners in the families could be only roughly classified, for 46 of the 160 did not report occupation, and 56 of the number reported merely "laborer" and could not be grouped accurately according to the census classifications. A wide range of occupations was apparent, 32 exclusive of that of "laborer" having been reported. Comparatively few have come from agricultural pursuits; a larger number from the skilled and semi-skilled trades found to a large extent in urban centers. Probably the usual occupation of the individual has been reported in each instance. This may indicate that harvest work is used to bridge over the gap of idle time between periods of employment at usual occupations. The number from the lumber industry who have become migrant is significant in the light of the wide-spread unemployment in the industry in the northwest region.

The effect of migration upon school

² For the purpose of the study, the term "migrant" was defined as "an individual or family which moves from place to place without definite intention of establishing a permanent residence."

attendance of children is suggested by the study. Thirty-seven of the 160 families did not report any children; the remaining 123 reported 394 children or a distribution of three children per family. Two hundred twenty of the 364 children whose ages were reported were under ten years of age. One hundred eighty-three were of school age or between the ages of six and sixteen. Only 45 of the total group of 364 whose ages were reported were beyond the compulsory school age. The significance of this fact is evident when it is noted that 121 of the 160 families were registered between September and December, months during which the public schools are in session. One hundred and five of these families were accompanied by children. The contention that children in migrant families remain out of school for considerable periods of time is substantiated.

A study of the length of residence in the county at the time of registration indicated that 64 of the families had been resident less than one month in the county, 57 less than three weeks, 52 less than two weeks, and 35 less than one week. On the other hand, only 35 had been resident in the state less than one month, 30 less than three weeks, 26 less than two weeks, and 22 less than one week. In other words, 139 of the families had been resident in the county less than six months, while only 75 had been resident in the state less than six months. Numbers of the families have been in the state for a considerable period of time. This is some indication that the migrant family is migrant within the state, seeking the fruit and harvest fields when employment there becomes more profitable than at the customary occupation. It is a partial contradiction of the common belief that many of them come from the eastern states and are merely passing through Washington on the way to California and back.

Perhaps the most important result of the investigation is the discovery that of the 160 families, only two had been known to two or more agencies. This fact refutes the contention that migrant families travel from city to city depending upon social agencies for their maintenance. It suggests that there is little inherent in migration alone that produces a case work problem.

The registration blanks yielded a meagre amount of case material. The brief summaries which follow will indicate some of the problems with which the migrant family confronts the social agency.

Case No. 1. Man, Woman, Girl 4, Boy 3, and Boy 1. Reported by Health Center, Y. W. C. A., Walla Walla; Arrived in the state October 1928, and in the county on the same date. From Willows, California. Destination is "anywhere they can find health and work; suffer from malaria." Man was employed as a "laborer on road and fruit;" Family living in auto camp and in the summer camp near their work. Travelling by Automobile. Aid was asked November 15, 1928.

Case No. 2. Man, Woman, Boy 15, Boy 13, Boy 9. Reported by the county commissioner's office, Yakima. Arrived in the state in 1924 from Salem, Oregon, and in the county in 1928. Previous addresses were Portersville, California; Fresno, California; and Salem, Oregon. No destination was reported. Family travelling by automobile. Man gave his occupation as laborer. The family asked aid on December 20, 1928.

Case No. 3. Man, Woman, Boy 9, Boy 17 months. Reported by Social Service Bureau, Spokane. Family arrived in the state on September 25, 1928, and in the county on the same day. Previous address was Williamsport, Pa., and destination was "out west." The family travelled by Ford automobile until "it smashed and then walked." The occupation of the man was painter and truck gardener. Nationality American. The family asked aid on September 25, 1928.

Case No. 4. Man, Woman, Girl 20, Boy 16, Girl 14, Boy 12, Boy 10, Girl 8. Reported by the Social Welfare League, Seattle. Family arrived in the state and county in October, 1928, from Winchester, Wisconsin, and destination California. Travelling

in two Fords. Man's nationality is American and occupation blacksmith. Family asked aid on December 7, 1928.

Case No. 13. Man, Woman, Boy 7, Boy 5, Boy 4, Girl 2, and Girl 1. Reported by American Red Cross, Longview. Family arrived in the state and county October 30th, 1928 from Sacramento, California. Destination is Tacoma. Previous addresses, Chicago, Illinois; Joliet, Illinois; Sacramento, California. Travelling by Ford and camping in auto camps. Man's nationality American and occupation is laborer or junk dealer. Aid asked on October 30th, 1928. On November 2, reported by American Red Cross, Olympia. Destination now

California. Came to Washington to get work and are now on their way back to California.

It may be concluded from this investigation that the problem of the migrant family has received undue emphasis, hardly justified by the small number of cases known to the social agencies. That the problem is a complex and difficult one because of the aspect of non-residence is not denied, but it seems to be due to the persistence of outworn tenets concerning residence not justified in the light of modern economic development.

ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES IN THE HOME*

AMY HEWES

Mount Holyoke College

ONLY Fairyland can vie with the bright prospects pictured by the heralds of the Age of Electricity, especially by those who sell the instruments which make its transforming power available. The older industrial revolution, ushered in with the application of steam-power, took contented women and little children away from happy domestic occupations with spindle and loom into factories where they labored from dawn to dark. The new industrial revolution, with its giant power lines flung across the world, may see some of the tasks which were taken from the home restored to it, but they will be performed in well-lighted, hygienic houses fitted not only with every convenience human ingenuity can devise, but with labor-saving devices which will create more hours of leisure than have ever been enjoyed before. Women are to be especially blessed, for household drudgery will be no more.

Already the equipment in the twenty-seven million homes in this country

* Data prepared by class in statistics under the direction of Professor Hewes.

has attained amazing proportions. Mr. Stuart Chase roughly estimates¹ that 17,600,000 of them are wired for electric current, that in them are used 15,300,000 electric flat irons, 6,828,000 vacuum cleaners, 5,000,000 washing machines, 4,540,000 electric toasters, 755,000 electric refrigerators, and 348,000 ironing machines. In order to get some idea of what this avalanche may mean for the family life of the people of this country, which is the largest producer and consumer of electrical goods in the world, it is necessary to picture the individual home as affected by it, to find out how the routine of every-day activities has changed, and what new opportunities have been made possible.

SCOPE AND METHOD

An opportunity to secure material for such a study was made by the students in the statistics course at Mount Holyoke College in the autumn of 1929 through the cooperation of their fellow students in the college. A canvass was made of the entire

¹ Stuart Chase, *Prosperity: Fact or Myth*, 1929, p. 62.

undergraduate body, representing 929 homes in the United States. Each student was asked to get confirmation on the points covered in the inquiry from the person in charge of the household of her own family.

The study here presented is based on data of 764 schedules from "housekeep-

pendent menage, in order to make comparisons possible, and for the same reason it was also decided to include only those households in which at least two meals a day were customarily prepared. In grouping those "housekeeping" families according to size, every person taking meals in the household was counted, including

NUMBER OF APPLIANCES IN USE PER HOUSEHOLD

1919 AND 1929

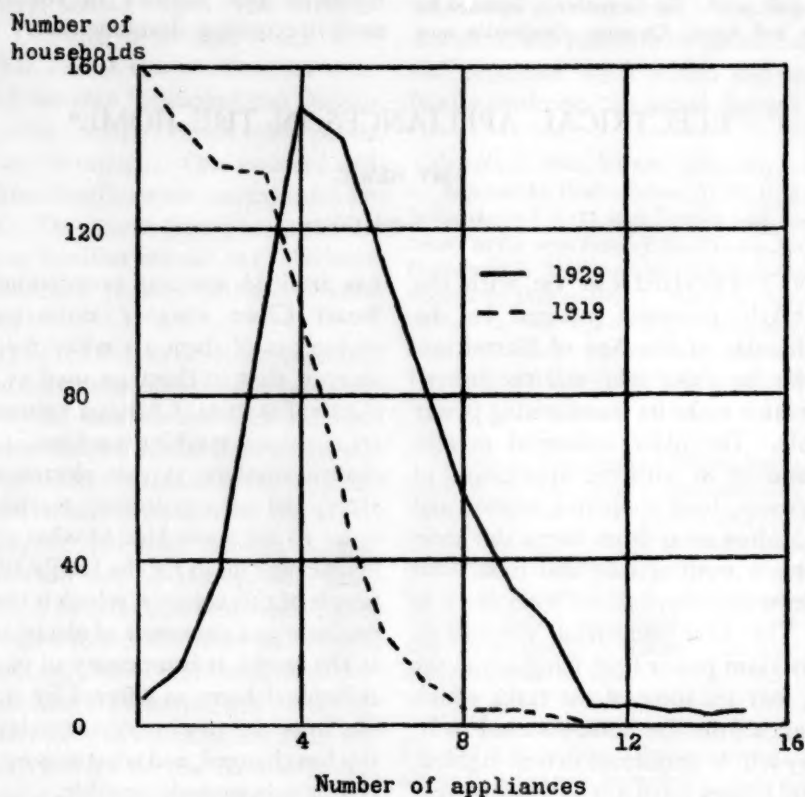


CHART I

ing" families, of which all but seven were using some electrical appliances in 1929. The dwellings of five of these families were not connected with electrical power. Although electrical appliances are used by persons with all varieties of housekeeping arrangements, it was decided to limit the inquiry to those who maintained an inde-

pendent menage, in order to make comparisons possible, and for the same reason it was also decided to include only those households in which at least two meals a day were customarily prepared.

The study was limited to the use of the appliances connected with the preparation and preservation of food, manufacture and laundering of clothing, and the cleaning of the house itself. Only one of a type was included in the count of appliances

acquired by a family, regardless of whether the family had possessed successive appliances of the kind or owned several at the same time, and the "number introduced" was distinguished in the analysis from the "number in use." Satisfactory data regarding cost and upkeep of appliances were not obtainable.

NUMBER OF APPLIANCES IN USE

The present generation is being reared in homes very generally equipped with electrical appliances. The average number of appliances acquired by the 764 families of college students was nearly six (5.67).

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF APPLIANCES IN USE ACCORDING TO SIZE
OF HOUSEHOLD

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD	AVERAGE NUMBER OF APPLIANCES IN USE
All households	5.33
2	4.75
3	4.77
4	5.21
5	5.17
6	5.51
7	6.09
8	6.00
9	8.38
10	4.50
Over 10	7.12

Families living in different sections of the country appeared to have about the same amount of equipment although the number of households in some sections was too small to make the average significant.

The last decade marked a great advance in the electrical appliances used for domestic purposes by the households studied. A majority of them in 1919 had either no appliances at all or less than three, but in 1929 over half of them had as many as five or more. (See Chart 1.) When the households were grouped according to the

number of appliances in use, the largest group in 1919 had none at all, but by 1929 each household in the largest group was using four appliances. In 1919 no household reported as many as a dozen appliances, but in 1929 ten families were using twelve or more.

The number of persons in the households apparently had only slight effect in determining the number of appliances used by them, although the average did tend to increase with the number of persons. (See Table 1.) The tendency may appear somewhat exaggerated since the number of families with more than eight members was small, but it may be noted that only those households with seven or more members had an average of six or more appliances. The machines which are designed to accomplish large quantities of work such as the washing machine, body ironer (mangle), and dishwasher offer more of an inducement to large families than to small. Although families of all sizes bought and used them, it was ascertained that the proportion of large families using these particular appliances was greater than the proportion of small families, and it may be assumed that they accounted for the higher average number of all appliances.

INTRODUCTION OF APPLIANCES IN RECENT YEARS

The information requested included the year of introduction of each appliance as nearly as it could be fixed. (See Table 2.) This naturally reflected the kinds of appliances available in the market at different periods as well as their importance to the families. Before 1920 the electric iron was the most commonly acquired electrical appliance, but in 1920 and in subsequent years there were more vacuum cleaners bought than irons. Toasters and washing machines were also among the pioneers in

electric housekeeping appliances, and were acquired in large numbers in the earlier years. Only within the last two or three years of the period studied did the electric refrigerator become an important leader, but in 1928 and 1929 it surpassed even the waffle iron which had held the lead since 1925. The sewing machine and washing machine held steadier places. It must be

vacuum cleaner, toaster, washing machine, and refrigerator ranged in the same numerical order in the two years, both the percentage and actual increase were lowest in the case of the iron at the head of the list. The percentage increase was greatest with the refrigerator and indicates that the last is destined to become a very commonly used convenience.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF APPLIANCES BY YEAR OF INTRODUCTION

APPLIANCE	NUMBER INTRODUCED											
	All years	Before 1920	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Total.....	4270 ¹	1713	428	155	178	207	230	295	289	340	254	181
Iron.....	715	532	60	23	21	16	18	19	11	9	4	2
Vacuum cleaner.....	695	380	110	35	29	40	26	26	20	14	11	4
Toaster.....	635	276	91	25	27	34	37	48	38	33	18	8
Washing machine.....	435	172	51	30	31	22	31	31	20	25	12	10
Waffle iron.....	366	14	13	4	19	20	28	59	59	79	57	14
Percolator.....	305	96	29	8	10	16	26	26	28	34	20	12
Sewing machine.....	286	96	23	8	18	18	18	26	28	21	10	20
Refrigerator.....	242	1	2	5	4	7	11	13	31	46	63	59
Hot plate.....	170	61	24	4	4	10	11	19	13	12	9	3
Ironer.....	117	40	12	6	5	9	13	7	11	7	3	4
Range.....	90	23	7	4	7	2	9	7	5	10	5	11
Floor waxer.....	57	2	1		1	1	1		10	17	10	14
Dish washer.....	35	9	1	3	1	3		3	3	4	5	3
Egg beater.....	27	1	1			2		1	4	6	8	4
Pancake griddle.....	27	6	2			1		4	3	6	4	1
Fruit juice extractor.....	23					1			1	6	9	6
Mixer.....	19	2	1			1	1	2	1	4	4	3
Ice cream freezer.....	18	2			1	2		3	2	5	1	2
Chopper.....	8					2		1	1	2	1	1

¹ No date was reported for 61 appliances.

remembered that a decline in the number of appliances purchased may indicate not disuse, but a saturation point in the group studied.

Marked differences appeared in the extent to which the households represented were equipped with the more important appliances in 1919 and 1929, as illustrated in the five selected for comparison in Chart 2. Although the iron,

The increase in the use of appliances is often connected with the "servant problem." In a number of cases the users explained their purchases as made to enable them to do without hired help which they would otherwise have found necessary. Again it was stated that a consideration in the purchase of labor-saving devices was that of making it possible to get the grade of servants who to-

day are not attracted to positions where they must still work by old-fashioned methods.

Several obstacles appeared to lie across the path of this marked tendency to buy more and more appliances. For instance, a number of southern families claimed it was impractical for them to invest in washing machines because the hired help available was too ignorant to use them. Others, who depended on their own power

also into homes supplied with electricity only. Except in the case of the electric range, the percentage of households using these appliances in the second group was not strikingly larger than in the first; in fact, the use of the coffee percolator and toaster was more extended with the group which had the choice of cooking by gas. Electric ranges however, were much more common among the households without gas; more than a third of which used them.

NUMBER OF APPLIANCES IN USE IN 1919 and 1929

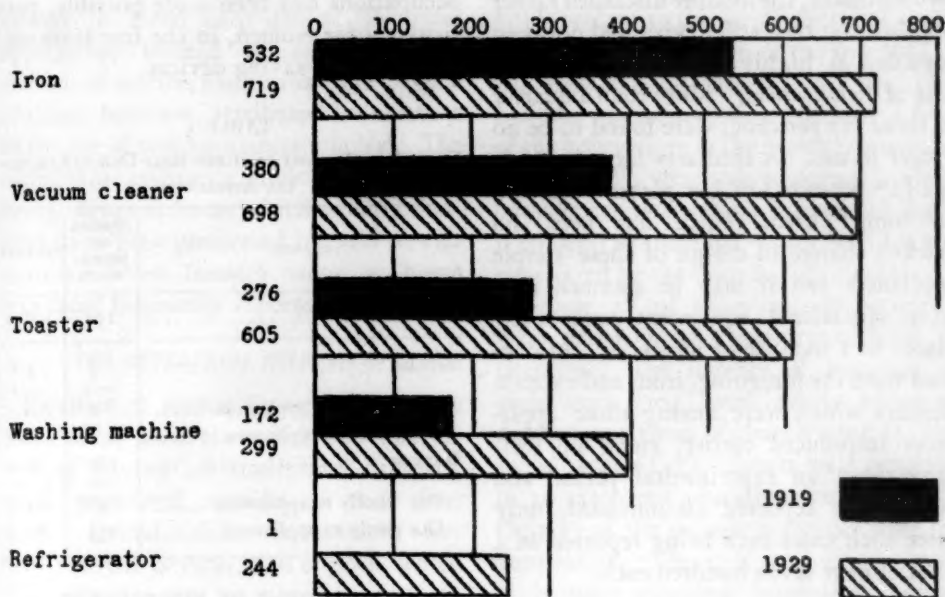


CHART II

plants found that it was necessary to limit the number of appliances used. Again, the availability of natural gas discouraged the use of electrical appliances for cooking. Where any gas was available as a fuel, its use for cooking continued along with electricity. A study was made of the extent to which several of the more frequently used electrical cooking appliances had been introduced into households equipped with both gas and electricity and

It will be seen that the order of importance of the appliances in 1929 in the sample studied showed some contrasts to Mr. Chase's guess for the country as a whole. While the flat iron and vacuum cleaner held corresponding places, the families of college students had more toasters than washing machines and a much larger proportion of refrigerators; differences in accord with what seems likely to be the case when a group of

families, able to patronize laundries and buy refrigerators in greater proportion than the population as a whole because of greater purchasing power, is compared with the average.

An attempt was made to ascertain the extent to which appliances once in use had been discarded. Only a small percentage (about 6) of all the appliances which had been introduced were reported not in regular use in 1929. Evidently their use had almost always been established as part of the routine. In one or two instances, the number discarded rather implied that the earlier types had not been regarded as highly successful, as in the case of dishwashers. More than a quarter of these (27 per cent) were found to be no longer in use. A similarly large percentage (27 per cent) of hot plates were also no longer used. There has been no marked change in design of these simple appliances and it may be assumed that more specialized equipment took their places in a number of instances. In contrast with the foregoing, irons and vacuum cleaners which were among those appliances introduced earlier, stood up well throughout an experimental period and were rarely reported discontinued, only three such cases each being reported in a total of over seven hundred each.

EFFECTS ON HOME LIFE

Obviously the first objects in view when domestic appliances are purchased are those connected with securing greater convenience and the saving of labor, and we look for the enjoyment of more leisure as a result. However, rather unexpectedly, there has been opened up the possibility of an increased, rather than a decreased amount of work in the household as a consequence of electrical appliances. For, as Mr. Borsodi has pointed out,² the grow-

² Ralph Borsodi, *This Ugly Civilization*, 1929.

ing costs of distributing and selling factory goods has put such a high price upon them that it is possible to prepare or manufacture some articles in the modern home, equipped with electrical power, at a cost considerably below that at which they are procurable in the market, thus bringing back into home occupations which the factory system took away from it a century or so ago. The present study aimed to discover to what extent this restoration had already taken place in the households studied, as well as to find out what new occupations had been made possible, particularly for women, in the free time created by labor-saving devices.

TABLE 3
CHANGE IN AMOUNT OF HIRED HELP DUE TO ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES

CHANGE	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PER CENT
Total.....	194	100.0
Increase.....	7	3.6
Due wholly to appliances.....	0	0
Due partly to appliances.....	7	3.6
Decrease.....	187	96.4
Due wholly to appliances.....	28	14.4
Due partly to appliances.....	159	82.0

THE AMOUNT OF HIRED LABOR

Just about a quarter (194 out of 764) of the households studied reported a change in the amount of help hired as due wholly or in part to the introduction of electrical appliances (See Table 3). In nearly all of these cases (96.4 per cent) the change was in the anticipated direction of a decrease. Usually it was found that the cleaning or washing and ironing of the family could be performed in less time with the aid of the appliances. Frequently, of course, other factors beside the assistance of the electrical appliances led the family to get

along with a smaller number of hours of service. All these families had children who were growing up to college age during the period covered and doubtless they needed less care as they grew older and certainly less when they went away to school or college during part of the year. Nevertheless, the families attributed the fact that they employed less service in part to the electrical appliances. In 28 cases (14.4 per cent) they reported that the decrease was due *wholly* to the labor-saving devices.

Seven families of the 194 who reported change in hired help due to electrical appliances, instead of decreasing the amount of service, had increased it. None of these, however, attributed the increase to the use of new appliances wholly. The additional assistance took the form of doing things at home which would otherwise have been performed by paid service outside. More laundry work at home was most frequently reported.

THE OPERATIONS PERFORMED

Families of means living in American cities today have the rather easy alternative of having all traditional domestic work performed outside of their four walls. Indeed, there is scarcely any family, urban or rural, rich or poor, which does not now pay to have some of the operations connected with the making and cleaning of clothes and the preparation of food performed in a shop or factory. But the extent to which this is done is being much affected by the installation of electrical appliances. For instance, 40 per cent of the 764 families reported more ironing done in the home since the introduction of electrical appliances and almost as many, 36 per cent, reported an increase in washing. The increased amount of sewing and baking was much less (17 and 8 per cent respectively), yet it is impressive

to note any considerable gain at all in these as household activities when it is recalled that in each case the outside service is performed by corporate business organizations usually acting in very large combinations. The only explanation possible is either substantial economy gained for the family or the more congenial organization of its social life made possible in this way.

OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSEWIFE

Not the least important of the possible effects in the reorganization of the household incident to the use of electrical appliances is the disposition of the free time of the woman who presides over it. One hundred and seventy-four, or only a fifth of the housewives in the homes represented in this study, were able to engage in some outside activity which would not have been open to them had it not been for the time saved by the electrical appliances.

Nearly all of these outside activities were part-time and non-remunerative in character. The number of instances of club work (104) were nearly twice as numerous as those of church work (53) or social service (47). Sports were reported in 20 cases and educational work in 18. Only 17 of the outside activities were remunerative. These, it may be assumed, made more exacting demands upon the time than those of a voluntary character. Most of them were part-time teaching.

If the households studied may be taken representative, it must be admitted that an examination of the actual uses made of time saved is disappointing as compared to the promises of things possible made by the salesmen of electric appliances. Few of the housewives were able to point to definite or substantial achievements as the outcome of increased leisure. But it may often happen that a women's horizon is greatly widened by any outside activi-

ties, and that they may constitute a source of interest not only for her but for other members of the household as well. It may be assumed that such results of the additional mechanical household equipment, though not easily measurable, and perhaps not even recognized, are positive and far-reaching.

ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES IN FAMILIES IN
DIFFERENT INCOME GROUPS

It is not possible to estimate precisely how far the families of the group studied

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGES USING APPLIANCES IN TWO GROUPS OF
FAMILIES IN 1929

APPLIANCE	HOUSE- HOLDS OF COLLEGE STU- DENTS	HOLYOKE HOUSE- HOLDS
Iron.....	94.1	94.0
Vacuum cleaner.....	91.4	64.2
Toaster.....	79.2	66.7
Washing machine.....	52.2	52.2
Waffle iron.....	46.5	21.4
Sewing machine.....	36.5	21.4
Coffee percolator.....	34.0	28.9
Refrigerator.....	31.9	6.0
Hot plate.....	16.8	7.5
Ironer.....	13.6	3.0
Range.....	11.0	2.5
Floor waxer.....	7.3	3.0
Pancake griddle.....	3.5	1.5
Dishwasher.....	3.5	
Fruit juice extractor.....	3.1	.5
Egg beater.....	3.0	1.0
Mixer.....	2.5	1.0
Ice cream freezer.....	1.8	1.0
Chopper.....	1.2	.5

represent the general population so far as the effects of domestic electrical equipment are concerned. That their incomes are above the average is indicated by the ability to maintain at least one daughter in college. For this reason, it seemed worth while to take advantage of an opportunity made possible through the cooperation of the Holyoke Home Information Center for comparison with another group

of 201 households of somewhat smaller income range.

Although any women with a home problem is welcomed at the free classes held by the Center, their membership is largely drawn from homes of the city's wage-earning population. It may be assumed that their incomes were on a distinctly lower level than the majority of those of the families of college students.

It was possible to hold brief interviews with 201 women at the Center who willingly gave information regarding the electrical equipment in their homes. Because of the different method in which the data were secured, the groups are not comparable throughout, but a measure of the extent of the equipment in the two groups may have significance.

The percentages in the two groups who owned the more common and useful appliances correspond very closely (See Table 4.) For example, just about half of each group (52.2 per cent) had washing machines and a large majority in each used electric irons. Toasters, percolators, and sewing machines were used by substantial proportions of each, though to a much smaller extent by the Holyoke families. Ranges and refrigerators, the most expensive articles in the list, were used by a relatively much larger number of the families of the higher-income group.

It becomes difficult to say what electrical appliances are still to be considered luxuries. It is not surprising that those for which the initial cost is over \$100 and for which the cost of maintenance is high are still beyond the reach of most working-class families. However, even an expensive appliance such as a washing machine, which is perhaps the greatest labor-saving electrical device, was used equally by both groups. The great convenience afforded by some of the less expensive articles, such as toasters, has made them a common possession except in families near the poverty line.

THE RÔLE OF THE NEWSPAPER IN DEPICTING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

ELSA BUTLER GROVE

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INTRODUCTION

HAVING accepted a tempting invitation to speak at the State Parents Teachers Association, connected with the Negro Public Schools of West Virginia, the writer felt at a loss for a suitable topic for a paper. She well remembered her days as Director of the Home Service Work of the American Red Cross, for the State of Missouri, when as she would alight from the train, the welcoming committee would invariably say, "Of course coming from the City you can not possibly understand us or our situations." This time there was even more reason for needing to get nearer the life of the audience, since the writer came from an utterly different spot than her listeners (to wit a large, noisy, urbanized, blasé metropolis) and had literally passed through the state of West Virginia but once when riding on to Cincinnati.

How to proceed to get acquainted with a population several hundred miles away seemed less a matter of physical distance than of social distance; so the solution hit upon was to read four newspapers from different corners of the state for a period of three weeks, February 21 through March 15, 1930. The papers arbitrarily selected were the *Charleston Daily Mail*, *Charleston Gazette*, *Parkersburg News*, *Wheeling Daily News*.*

News items about the faulty behavior or attitudes of different age groups were

*The following abbreviations will be used to show the source of the paper quoted; CDM, CG, PN, WDN. The date of issue and page references have been omitted.

clipped and then edited. Also included in the purview of the social scissors were such items as might shed some light upon the apparent causation of the conduct under review; and finally what the papers themselves carried in the way of constructive news in the field of human relations.

THE STUDY

At the outset let us consider a statement in an editorial entitled "Illiteracy" (CG) to the effect "that West Virginia stands thirty-third from the top in percentage of illiteracy;" does this situation operate in hindering illiterate parents from sharing the reading interests of their children, i.e., school lessons and books, magazines, movies, newspapers? Parents thus shut out from the shifting currents of thought today may still be conforming to the simple standards of the rural community in which they have always lived while their children are learning other ways from the glaring headlines of the daily newspaper.

Granting this premise, let us see what the headlines of our papers reveal about marriage;

"Conjurer's Daughter Tricks Dad" (CG)

"Husband Is Left by Companionate Wife" (CDM)

"Gillis on His Way to San Francisco; Newburyport, Mass., Mayor Is Seeking Wife; Blondes Are Barred" (CDM)

"Principles Involved in Love and Millions Tangle" (CDM)

"Divorcee Given Right to Visit Her Pet Dog" (CG)

"Mean? And How" (CG)

"Wife Is Apt Pupil, Kills Husband after Sixth Shooting Lesson" (CDM)

"Butchered His Wife" (WDN)

We would probably all agree that the writers of these captions have learned to make their lurid news attract the eye; so that the articles probably get over just as the publishers of the papers intend, since they are out for readers; readers mean circulation, and circulation means "ads," and "ads" mean income.

Perhaps one of the tests of faulty parent child relationships is the amount of news space given to the adventures of stormy adolescents. For one reads pretty generally today that adolescence simply brings into sharper relief the training and experience which the individual has experienced through the years leading up to puberty. The adjusted child goes as did his parents, along the straight and narrow way; but the maladjusted child indulges too often in conduct which is destructive to his own best interests or to those of the community. What then has been reported in the newspapers under study?

"Blame for Wreck Is Placed on Youth; Reckless Driving Cause Given in Deaths of Eleven" (CDM)

"Five Youths Die, Mistaking Anti-Freeze Liquid for Wine" (CG)

"Child Gambling" (PN)

"Stiff Fines Because Boys Gambled in Poolroom" (WDN)

In these situations the motive underlying conduct might be assumed to have been desire for speed or adventure; and society must share with the parents the responsibility of putting in the paths of young people the means for achieving their ends; such as the automobiles, drink, poolroom.

Professor Dewey says that the machine age has tended to rob childhood and youth of initiative; toys no longer have to be made but instead can be wafted across the counter already to use, provided the child has the necessary cash in his hands. Food comes canned; clothes can be plucked off

the counter just as toys can. With initiative gone and desire for objects strong, predatory life beings.

"West Virginia Girl Is Held as Bandit; Proud of Record, She Tells Police in Akron" (CDM)

"Three Young Robbers Enter Guilty Pleas" (WDN)

Obviously the same forces operate in the less populous areas of these USA as in the large urban centers, such as Chicago and New York, to make life stormy for the young and by the same token complicated for their elders. Hence the attention of parents and teachers may well be focused upon adolescence to see how this phase of human growth can be passed with positive benefit to the individual adolescent, (instead of with obvious harm as too often at present) and for his parents and the community. Let us remember that the transition from adolescence to adulthood with its responsibilities is rapid.

There are two forms of conduct peculiarly disadvantageous to the social group: murder and suicide. The murderer seems to be an individual who either can not bear to be thwarted: who must at all times get what he wants; or else an individual so ridden by his emotions that his conduct is impulsive and his perspective on the situation, as well as his remorse, follows long after action has been taken. Thus:

"Charles Adair Kills Foster Mother, Self; Shot Aged Woman When She Refused Him Money" (WDN)

"Two Girls Killed and Man Wounded; Rejected Suitor of One of Victims Slain Accused of Shooting" (CDM)

Or again:—

"Girl Student Ends Her Life with Gas" (CDM)

"Youth Believed Suicide Victim" (CG)

Why have these young people found their solution to the problems of life—ado-

lescent life—in suicide? What has their home life been? How have their parents taught them the meaning of life? How have their parents practised it themselves? Has this practice led their children to infer that there is nothing fine in life and the best solution is dissolution?

Up to this point we have largely stressed the fact that parents make their children for good or ill. However, let us not forget that the community, too, has a part to play in molding youth and must take its share of the blame for creating faulty attitudes. What about the effect of such morbid news as this?

"Snook Growls at Barber's Delay for Last Shave" (WDN)

"Crowds Gather to Witness Capone Emerge from Prison" (WDN)

"Court Compliments Bigamist on Taste for Pretty Wives" (CG)

There is a column which appears in many newspapers; it is syndicated and so must have a wide popular appeal; I refer to "Dorothy Dix." Just what is likely to be the net effect of this one woman's literary babblings it is hard to ascertain; Professor Zorbaugh's researches in Chicago would tend to show that columns entitled "Advice to the Lovelorn" are read by lonely unadjusted girls, who feed their emotional needs upon such vapid articles as:

"The World Owes a Debt of Gratitude to Old Maid for Her Disinterested Service in Behalf of Mankind . . . How to Loosen Purse Strings of Stingy Husband" (PN)

"Under What Circumstances Should a Wife Overlook Her Husband's Philandering" (PN)

We all probably are agreed that a girl already emotionally at sea will receive little benefit from such emotional sewage.

Before we succumb completely to the

pessimism which this review of four newspapers from West Virginia has brought us, let us see what *constructive forces* we may find in these same papers. We find that the *Parkersburg News* carries an excellent column by Mrs. Agnes Lyne called

"Guiding Your Child" with subtitles such as

"A Source of Trouble"

"Divided Loyalty"

"Bathroom Scales"

"His Manners"

"Undesirables"

The *Charleston Daily News* carries a column edited by Olive Roberts Barton, with such captions as:

"Parents Must Have Emotional Control"

"Parent Takes Unfair Advantage of Child"

"Active Child Needs Early Afternoon Nap"

"Too Much Coddling Causes Unhappiness"

"Mother Should Have Plenty of Diversion"

Thus we see that there is an attempt being made to show positive parenthood relationships.

In the way of *current news* we find:

"Marriage Is Sermon Topic. Dr. M'Cuaig Speaks to Large Audience at Odd Fellows Hall" (WDN)

"Churches to Have Family Day Today" (CG)

"Father-Son Banquet. Rev. Roland Aspinall Talks on 'Men and Boys'—D. E. Phillips Speaks" (WDN)

"Women's Clubs against Orphanages for Youths" (PN)

"Guild Is to Study Juvenile Delinquency" (CG)

"Parent-Teachers Organize City Council Last Night" (PN)

"P-T Institute Will Start on Tuesday. Mrs. C. E. Kendel, Official of National Congress, to Conduct Work" (CDM)

From which heartening news we see that parents are coming together in organized groups to study the situation in order to cope with it. And with such vision and plenty of determination some solution should be forthcoming. And lastly we

see that the entire community can turn the searchlight upon itself:

"Start Tours of City Agencies of Welfare" (CG)
 "'Come See' Tours of Chest Started. Feature Fund Drive and Tell Just How Money Is Spent through Agencies" (CDM)

SUMMARY

Thus although there is evidence aplenty that all is not well with family life today—we have weddings staged for publicity rather than for the serious purpose of

living; we have an abundance of domestic discord; we have our unruly youth; we find the community, too, adds fuel to the fire with its cheap news and still cheaper advice. Nevertheless, there is also evidence that the community is conscious of its shortcomings and of the challenge inherent in them. So groups of parents and even the whole community are looking for ultimate solutions through studying local conditions and searching for the right way out.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

For those interested in the conservation of the American family and the welfare of children, the great event of the year has been the White House Conference on child health and protection. No gathering, not even of the World's Congress of Mental Hygiene, has reflected more clearly the social advance that recent science has made possible. Comparison with the preceding conferences brings out clearly the progress that has been made, the rapidity with which we are turning from the benevolent attitude of the last century in our thought of children and the eagerness of present leadership to follow the guidance of science. Although problems of relief are not forgotten, the emphasis has shifted to prevention, as is true everywhere that science makes its proper contribution to social problems. This does not mean that the prevailing sentiment rests merely on the top layer of intellect, for it goes deeply down to our emotional bedrock. In his expression of the seriousness of the conviction of the American people that the child should enjoy to the fullest our modern resources, President Hoover was indeed our interpreter. Nothing he has ever said has reflected more the deeper feeling of our citizenship than his address at this conference. Never has the inner life of the man come closer to the surface.

The vast quantity of factual information concerning children and their problems, gathered by specialists in their various fields of interest, is in itself impressive, but even more so is the concern of parents,

teachers, and officials, which has stimulated the scientist in this study of childhood.

The White House Conference merely assembled for a definite event the fruits of that research which is continuously going on in every department of child life. This increasing knowledge of the child and his needs, to be useful, requires more effective practices in the training of the child. Our art of child care is not keeping pace with the development of the science. Parents are by no means the only persons who do not square their treatment of the child with present knowledge. This is not strange for tradition always hampers behavior more than thought. Fortunately, we are enlisted for a campaign, not a mere twelve months' program, and there is no need of tenseness or hectic hurry. If the White House Conference even does not convert all bad parents, mischievous teachers, and unwise officials it is well to remember also that before this meeting there were people who dealt well with the children in their charge and that for centuries back this had been true. The White House Conference is not an absolutely new departure or a crusade. Its significance is that it shows the better way to work out that desire to serve children which antedates even Rousseau and Locke, indeed, that goes farther back even than the Christian teaching which did so much to strengthen it.

ERNEST R. GROVES

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, program and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE NEGRO AND HOMICIDE

H. C. BREARLEY

Clemson College

THE homicide rate for colored persons is almost seven times more than it is for whites. For the decade 1918-1927 the mean annual rate for the registration area in continental United States was 5.32 deaths among the whites for each 100,000 persons, while for the colored races it was 36.93 deaths per 100,000 population. Frequently the number of colored persons slain is almost astonishing. For example, for the year 1925 the homicide rate for colored persons in Cincinnati, Ohio, was 189.66 and in Miami, Florida, it was 276.29 per 100,000 population. Even in Chicago, notable for gang warfare, in 1925 the rate for colored persons was 102.80, while for whites it was only 10.79.

Unfortunately, the data given for *colored persons* are not a precisely accurate statement of the facts concerning the American Negro, but, for general purposes, they are quite reliable, although the term *colored* includes Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and "other colored persons." In the first place, Negroes constituted approximately 96 per cent of the 10,889,705 colored persons in the United States on January 1, 1920. Besides, if the years 1924-26 are typical, the 426,574 colored persons other than Negroes included in the above total have a homicide rate not

far from half that of the Negroes, the relative ratios being Indian 9, Japanese 16, Chinese 65, Negroes 34, other persons of color 18.¹ Only the Chinese, perhaps because of their tong wars, exceed the Negroes in slayings.

Homicide as a cause of death is of no mean importance for the Negro race. "Among the industrial policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company only tuberculosis and pneumonia rank higher among young adult Negro males."² In spite of this condition, "at all significant age groups homicide mortality runs higher among the general population than among Metropolitan industrial policy-holders."³ Moreover, this marked excess of Negro deaths by violence is found both North and South and in both rural and urban areas.

The homicide rates presented in Table I

¹ These ratios were calculated from the number of slayings, 1924-1926, in the Registration Area and the population of each racial group according to the census of 1920. The proportion of each race in the Registration Area was not available; consequently, exact rates are not given.

² E. H. Sutherland, "Murder and the Death Penalty," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XV, 524.

³ *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, VII, 1-4.

SOCIAL FORCES

TABLE I

HOMICIDES PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1920 AND 1925 COMBINED, FOR WHITE AND COLORED PERSONS
(Data in italics are based upon less than 5 deaths)

STATES	TOTAL		URBAN		RURAL	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Alabama ¹	7.42	34.35	15.39	81.05	5.81	23.48
California.....	7.11	27.55	6.79	35.64	7.53	19.47
Colorado.....	7.67	67.91	8.04	66.58	7.44	70.19
Connecticut.....	3.50	14.43	4.00	15.06	2.01	11.55
Delaware.....	2.99	9.83	2.85	13.29	3.15	7.80
Florida.....	12.54	62.92	16.80	102.44	10.91	49.13
Idaho ¹	3.59	33.33	2.47	0.00	3.68	38.46
Illinois.....	7.16	72.38	9.12	76.24	4.38	53.40
Indiana.....	3.87	65.09	6.22	72.57	2.27	22.67
Iowa ¹	2.25	60.30	4.41	61.22	1.47	57.69
Kansas.....	3.76	36.89	7.81	51.86	2.53	10.59
Kentucky.....	8.65	49.11	9.62	72.13	8.44	38.54
Louisiana.....	8.73	35.35	14.36	77.97	6.03	23.56
Maine.....	1.80	0.00	2.24	0.00	1.63	0.00
Maryland.....	3.22	21.16	3.55	32.82	2.76	10.38
Massachusetts.....	2.27	12.78	2.48	12.26	1.40	16.72
Michigan.....	4.73	88.91	7.29	99.75	1.85	24.04
Minnesota.....	3.05	44.65	5.28	69.57	1.88	20.63
Mississippi.....	8.30	32.15	17.04	82.19	7.37	28.74
Missouri.....	6.87	66.94	12.43	81.76	3.26	33.87
Montana.....	7.58	20.84	15.24	98.46	5.64	11.66
Nebraska.....	3.26	58.47	8.03	68.98	1.94	29.76
New Hampshire.....	1.57	0.00	1.50	0.00	1.61	0.00
New Jersey.....	4.06	20.90	4.41	24.10	3.43	14.26
New York.....	4.35	28.71	5.04	30.89	2.06	12.93
North Carolina.....	4.68	20.82	8.81	50.49	4.07	15.37
North Dakota ¹	2.04	0.00	5.74	0.00	1.71	0.00
Ohio.....	5.10	70.16	7.28	81.83	2.40	30.13
Oregon.....	3.88	15.06	4.01	20.59	3.79	11.87
Pennsylvania.....	4.35	46.71	5.28	47.12	3.42	45.21
Rhode Island.....	1.50	18.28	1.82	20.86	0.00	0.00
South Carolina.....	8.58	18.52	20.84	57.88	6.80	14.98
Tennessee.....	7.98	48.82	14.93	103.20	6.50	24.68
Utah.....	4.67	44.49	5.92	48.52	3.97	43.06
Vermont.....	1.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.65	0.00
Virginia.....	6.67	20.00	9.20	37.68	5.87	13.21
Washington.....	4.75	26.06	5.47	41.27	4.11	12.38
West Virginia ¹	6.90	90.55	12.14	88.08	5.73	91.13
Wisconsin.....	1.79	28.37	2.80	87.77	1.20	0.00
Wyoming ¹	9.30	93.75	14.88	333.33	8.32	38.46
Mean (unweighted).....	5.10	37.66	7.79	58.64	4.00	24.25

¹ Rate based upon data for 1925 only.

are based upon the reports of the United States Division of Vital Statistics for the years 1920 and 1925 and upon the combined

estimated populations for these same years. This table indicates that a relatively low white homicide rate is often associated

with a lower rate for Negroes, but that the Negro rate is quite consistently higher than that for whites. In fact, only one Negro rate based upon more than 4 deaths, that for Delaware, is lower than the highest white rate, that of Florida.

An examination of this table raises the question whether or not a high homicide rate is uniformly associated with a large percentage of Negroes in the total population. In the first place, it is quite possible that the statewide rates may obscure significant differences. To test this hypothesis a special study was made of the states of South Carolina and Mississippi, in both of which the Negroes exceeded the whites in 1920. In South Carolina there were in 1920, fourteen counties having two-thirds of more of their population Negroes. Of these five were in the worst quarter of the counties with respect to homicide during the years 1920-26, four were in the second quarter, one was in the third, and four were in the best quarter. This result seems to sustain the conclusion of the Negro philosopher, "Negroes behave themselves very well wherever they live among good white folks." In Mississippi, however, the results were less favorable to the Negro. Of the 24 counties having in 1920 two-thirds or more Negro population, 13 were in the worst quarter of the counties with respect to homicide for the years 1920 and 1925 combined, six were in the second quarter, three were in the third, and two were in the best quarter.

Two Pearsonian coefficients of correlation were calculated to test further the same hypothesis. For the 46 counties of South Carolina between the homicide rate for the years 1920-26 and the percentage of Negro population in 1920 the coefficient was only $+0.257$ with a probable error of ± 0.09 . Since, however, the Negroes lived chiefly in the rural districts, where

the homicide rates are usually lower than they are in urban areas, it was thought possible that the factor of density of population was obscuring the true relationship. Consequently, a "partial" coefficient of correlation was computed between homicide rate and percentage of Negroes, with the factor of population per square mile held mathematically constant. This procedure raised the coefficient to $+0.374$, which is not often considered to be a very significant relationship. This result was corroborated by the second study of the same nature, using 90 cities (all except a few with incomplete data) from the states of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. In these cities of 10,000 or more population the percentage of Negro population was correlated with the homicide rate for the combined years of 1920 and 1925. The coefficient proved to be $+0.36$ with a probable error of ± 0.06 , almost exactly the same as the $+0.37$ found in South Carolina when the density of population was held constant. Since the city by its very nature practically eliminates density of population as a variable, these two coefficients are almost identical. Their numerical values, however, are not sufficiently large to indicate a very close relationship between the presence of the Negro and much slaying.

The four studies described above indicate quite definitely that there is some relationship between the presence of the Negro and a high homicide rate but that this relationship is much less than an examination of the rates in Table I would lead the casual observer to conclude. That a high homicide rate does not necessarily mean that Negroes are present in large numbers is shown by the data for the three cities and the three counties having the highest homicide rates for the years

1920 and 1925 combined.⁴ The annual rate per 100,000 population for Vicksburg, Mississippi, was 96.84, for Miami, Florida, it was 95.46, and for Florence, South Carolina, it was 82.07, while the percentage of Negroes in these cities on January 1, 1920, was for Vicksburg 51, for Miami 31, and for Florence 43. The three highest homicide rates for rural areas were in Harlan County, Kentucky, with 77.60; Baker County, Florida, with 71.27; and Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, with 51.36 persons slain each year for every 100,000 population. Their percentage of Negroes in the population in 1920 were: Harlan County, 9.2; Baker County, 25.3; and Morehouse Parish, 68.0 per cent. Evidence of the same import is given by the well-known record of Mound Bayour, Mississippi, an all-Negro town of about 3,000 inhabitants, where for more than twenty years there has not been a murder. St. Helena Island, off the coast of South Carolina, inhabited almost exclusively by home-owning Negroes, has also been remarkably free from crimes of violence. Perhaps under exceptionally favorable conditions the Negro adjusts himself better when he is free from white surveillance.

Since the death certificates upon which all homicide rates are based give facts about the slain only, it is very difficult to discover much about the slayers. Criminologists usually agree with Sutherland that "The victim and the offender generally belong to the same group, with reference to color, nationality, and age."⁵ There is the possibility, nevertheless, that at least a part of the Negro's high homicide rate may be due to slayings by whites. The author's study of inter-racial slayings in South Carolina shows that while 32 whites were killed by Negroes, 57 Negroes

were slain by whites, although the last figure includes 30 Negro deaths at the hands of officers of the law. Sutherland himself reports that in Washington, D. C., white persons killed seven of the 87 Negroes slain during the period 1915-1919, and that in Chicago, 1921-1922, of the 41 Negro deaths by homicide only 33 were at the hands of other Negroes. Moreover, in Chicago, 1926-1927, while the Negroes constituted only about five per cent of the total population, they were the victims in 30 per cent of the slayings by officers of the law.⁶ These reports, meager as they are, indicate that the whites may be partly responsible for the high incidence of violent death among the American Negroes. This conclusion is not a surprise to one familiar with the rarity of punishment by either law or public opinion of a white slayer of a Negro. Officers of the law, in particular, seem to be quite ready, both in South Carolina and Chicago, to use their weapons upon Negroes. These conditions may, or may not, be typical of the United States. It is evident that a thorough-going study of inter-racial slayings is needed.

Negroes differ somewhat from whites in the age and sex distributions of their homicide victims. As a group, slain Negroes are younger than the white homicide victims. In New Orleans, for example, during the period 1920-1926, the mean age at death of slain whites was 34.6, while for the Negroes it was 29.8 years.⁷ In South Carolina, 1920-1924, the mean age of white homicide victims was 36.7 years, while for the Negroes it was 31.5 years. For this state, however, the mean age of all whites on January 1, 1920, was 24.7 years and for the entire Negro population it was 22.7 years. Consequently, even though

⁴ From the author's unpublished *Studies in Homicide*.

⁵ *Criminology*, p. 64.

⁶ *Illinois Crime Survey*, chapter XIII.

⁷ F. L. Hoffman, "Murder and the Death Penalty," *Current History*, XXVIII, 408-10.

the mean age and the expectation of life are higher for white persons, the greater difference in the ages of the slain warrants the supposition that Negroes, in the South at least, are more likely to be killed at an early age than are the whites, especially if the facts with regard to infanticide are taken into consideration.

Infanticide seems *relatively* much rarer among Negroes than among whites, perhaps because among the former illegitimacy is a lesser stigma and a child is not so often a grave financial liability. In Chicago, 1926-1927, although Negroes provided the victims in more than one-third of the total slayings, they did not do this in a single one of the 47 infanticide cases, all of whom were whites.⁸ In the states in the Registration Area there were, in the three years 1924-1926, among the whites 410 homicides in which the victim was less than one year old, while among the Negroes there were 54 such deaths. Negroes were the victims in 11.6 per cent of the total infanticides, although they constituted only 9.9 per cent of the population of the United States in 1920. On the other hand, there was among the whites one infanticide to every 34.95 homicides, while among the Negroes there was only one infanticide to every 196.65 homicides. For these years, accordingly, 2.86 per cent of all white homicides were children under one year of age, but only 0.51 per cent of all the Negro homicides were under one year of age. Consequently, although infanticide was numerically slightly more frequent among the Negroes, it was relatively almost six times more prevalent among the whites. This result is in accord with the common observation that the Negro is so willing to increase his family, either by birth or adoption, that he makes little demand upon orphanage facilities.

⁸ *Illinois Crime Survey*, p. 604.

For the period 1924-1926, females made up a smaller proportion of the Negro homicides than of the white homicides. For these years there was one female slain among the Negroes for every 4.5 males, while among the whites there was one to every 3.86 males. The ratio of Negro males to white males slain was one to 1.31, while for females it was one Negro to every 1.53 whites. This indicates that a Negro woman is less likely to be slain, considering the high homicide rate for this race, than is a white woman. In other words, provided the three years studied are typical, if the relative rates for the two races be taken into consideration, a woman is somewhat less likely to be numbered among the Negro homicide victims than among the white victims. It is a possibility that the danger to women relatively increases where the homicide rate is low. In England, where very few are slain, two out of every three persons murdered are women, but in the United States with a much higher homicide rate the ratio is only one out of less than five homicide victims.⁹

This investigator has been able to find very little evidence as to whether white or Negro women are more liable to become murderers. Of 407 slayers in South Carolina, where the races are approximately equal in numbers, 20 were Negro and 13 were white women, while there were 159 Negro and 189 white men included in the total. Since most of these cases were secured from newspaper clippings, it would seem that the ratio between the sexes of each race should be approximately the same. If this assumption is correct, Negro women, in South Carolina at least, are perhaps more likely to slay an adversary than are white women. This should not be surprising in view of the Negro

⁹ E. Roy Calvert, "Murder and the Death Penalty," *Nation*, CXXIX, 405-07.

women's greater freedom of life, physical vigor, and familiarity with weapons. Nevertheless, this conclusion may, like so many other "common sense observations" concerning racial differences, prove, upon investigation, to be erroneous.

Contrary to general belief, Negroes seldom use razors as a means of committing murder. For the years 1924-1926 Negro homicide victims were slain with firearms in 72.7 per cent of the cases, while for the same period whites were slain with firearms in only 68.3 per cent of the cases. For the entire Registration Area in continental United States the percentage was 70.2 use of firearms in slayings. A significant sex difference appears in the following percentages for the use of firearms, 1924-1926: for white male homicidal deaths 73.85, for white females 46.8, for Negro males 74.8, and for Negro females 63.2. Perhaps firearms are more frequently used against Negro women because they are more likely than are white women to injure or slay their adversaries.

A study of the reports of the attorney general of South Carolina for the years 1920-1926 shows that 51.5 per cent of all those actually tried for murder or manslaughter were convicted, in contrast with approximately 75 per cent convictions in all other felonies not involving homicide, but of the persons accused of homicide the whites were found guilty in only 31.7 per cent of the cases, while the Negroes were in 64.1 per cent of the verdicts. In this state, therefore, Negroes charged with murder or manslaughter in the circuit courts are twice as liable to conviction as are the whites so charged. This difference is due, doubtless, to such factors as race prejudice by white jurors and court officials and the Negro's low economic status, which prevents him from securing "good" criminal lawyers for his defense. In South Carolina, consequently, for the years 1915-

1927 seven whites and 53 Negroes suffered capital punishment, one white for every 101 white homicides and one Negro for every 38 Negro homicides.¹⁰ In North Carolina, where the Negroes make up about one-third of the population, three-fourths of the persons electrocuted are Negroes.¹¹ As one might expect, Negro slayers are in much greater danger of receiving capital punishment.

Many explanations of this high homicide rate among the Negroes have been offered. These range from the more credible ones to those based upon prejudice or hasty generalization, as McCord's conclusion that "the average Negro is a child in every essential element of character, exhibiting those characteristics that indicate a tendency to lawless impulse and weak inhibition."¹² McFadden and Dashiell report that as measured by the Downey Will-Temperament Test whites have over Negroes "a clear superiority in the number of controlled, deliberate, careful persons."¹³ This conclusion is supplemented by Crane's study of 100 whites and 100 Negroes with regard to scores upon an individual intelligence test, strength of impulse as measured by the withdrawal of the hand from beneath a falling weight, and "self-control" as indicated by the inhibition of the actual withdrawal movement, accompanied by "flinching," disturbances in breathing, etc. "He found among the white subjects fewer withdrawals of the hand but a greater tendency to withdraw it, as indicated by muscle twitch and breathing. He concluded that the behavior differences between the two races were due not so

¹⁰ Data from Professor G. Croft Williams of the University of South Carolina.

¹¹ C. S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization*, p. 327.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

¹³ A. T. Poffenberger, *Applied Psychology*, p. 39.

much to intelligence or to strength of impulses as to difference in the power of inhibition."¹⁴ These two investigations, if based upon adequate sampling and technique, support the conclusion that the Negro is more liable than is the white to lose control of himself under emotional stress. Additional evidence is found in the report of the *Illinois Crime Survey*. In Chicago in 1926, the Negro 5 per cent of the population of the city contributed the victims in 27.63 per cent of the premeditated murders, 40.91 per cent of the manslaughters, and 44.26 per cent of the justifiable homicides. The report for 1927 was similar. Since it can be assumed that in the great majority of these cases Negroes were the slayers as well as the victims, the Negroes apparently have a smaller proportion of the premeditated murders than they have of the manslaughter and justifiable homicide cases, slayings done upon the impulse of the moment, due to a lack of "self-control," which, says Parmelee, is "a wide-spread trait in the criminal world."

Parmelee himself has a theory that can easily be applied to this problem.¹⁵ He finds that "excessive heat, especially a change from a moderate to a hot temperature, stimulates the emotions and tends to increase irritability, thus leading to acts of violence." Furthermore, climatic differences give rise to considerable variation in the processes of the autonomic nervous system controlling the emotions. Then, he thinks, "It is possible that races tend to become more or less adapted to their climatic conditions by means of permanent changes in these physiological processes, thus giving rise to permanent variations in their emotional traits." The Negro, according to this theory, because of his thousands of years in the hot climate of

Africa inherits the excessive emotionality developed in his forebears by the tropical climate. Today, although transplanted to a temperate region, he by heredity has the same high homicide rate that one would expect of his ancestors in the torrid zone. This theory, ingenious as it is, is based upon two assumptions for which no adequate support is available. The inheritance of changes, if any, made in the endocrine glands and the autonomic nervous system by climatic conditions has not been proved, neither has the correlation between high temperatures and high homicide rates.

Certain differences in culture traits offers another possible explanation. In central Africa, it seems, the sacredness of human life is not greatly emphasized. This trait of lack of regard for person and personality was brought to the United States by the Negro slaves. Their owners strengthened it by treating the Negro as though he were a valuable domestic animal and by such practices as corporal punishment, concubinage, and dissolution of families by exchange or sale of its members. In many communities this trait may persist in sufficient strength to influence markedly the attitude toward the taking of human life. In a similar manner, further investigation may prove that the Negro's supposed lack of "self-control" is the end-result of a culture pattern in which self-expression rather than inhibition is inculcated.

Finally, there is the possibility that the high homicide rate of the Negro may be more apparent than real. If a careful study were made of comparable groups of whites and Negroes having the same economic, educational, and social status, approximately the same rates for the two races might, perhaps, be found. In that event, there would be no strictly racial differences to explain. Such an investigation is greatly needed.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁵ *Criminology*, pp. 43-53 and 140.

MIGRATORINESS AND CRIMINALITY IN BUFFALO

NILES CARPENTER AND WILLIAM M. HAENSZEL

University of Buffalo

A NUMBER of recent studies have served to show that migratoriness is in some way or other related to criminalism. Then it has long been recognized that the immigrant population in the United States has had a high crime rate, and this fact has generally been interpreted as indicative of the "inferiority" of the particular immigrant groups concerned. More recent studies, however, have demonstrated the fact that non-immigrant migrants (i.e. migrants from county to city, or migrants from one part of the country to another) also exhibit a high rate of criminal behavior. Particularly striking is a tabulation of the United States Census Bureau, which shows that white male inter-state migrants furnished inmates in prisons and reformatories in 1923 at the rate of 45.7 per hundred thousand as against a rate of 35.1 per hundred thousand for the general white male population 15 years of age or over.¹ Tönnies, moreover, after an elaborate analysis of the crime statistics of Schleswig-Holstein for over forty years² found that, for virtually every major offense—and particularly, for the more serious ones—the highest rate was shown by those who had been born in the country or in small towns and had moved to the cities.

Following these indications, the writers have investigated the places of birth of one hundred males, convicted of felony, in Buffalo during the year 1929, the records of the chief probation officer being selected

for the purpose. As a "control" group, there have also been tabulated the birth-places of 220 male students in Hutchinson Central High School, the most centrally located and the most widely representative of the various strata of population in the community, of all the city's high schools.

The results of this comparison are presented in the accompanying table. It shows that there is a marked and statistically significant difference between the two groups in the categories "Born in Buffalo" and "Born in the United States outside of New York State." The felons are under-represented in the first group, and over-represented in the second. There is a slight over-representation for the groups, "Born in New York State outside of Buffalo" and "Born in Foreign Countries," but the differences are so close to their probable errors that they might be explained merely as errors in sampling. It may be that the first of the two, namely, "Born in New York outside of Buffalo" represents individuals drawn largely from nearby points in the Buffalo metropolitan area, and, therefore, really non-migrants.

The same observation does not, of course, apply to the foreign born. Here, however, it may be pointed out that the drastic reduction in immigration to this country in recent years has materially reduced the proportion of recent immigrants among the foreign born, and, *pari passu*, has reduced the proportion of individuals who, by reason of the recency of their arrival in this country, would be likely to break down into criminal behavior. To the extent that this fact effects the crime rate among the foreign born, the result shown by the tabulation is

¹ Mead, *Prisoners*, 1923 (U. S. Census Publication), Washington, 1926, p. 89.

² Tönnies, "Verbrechertum in Schleswig-Holstein-Dritten Stück," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, LXI, 322-359

not inexplicable. On the contrary, it suggests that the high crime rate among the foreign born that has been indicated in earlier studies—most of them made before immigration restriction had influenced the constitution of the foreign born group with regard to recency of immigration—is to be interpreted more as a corollary of migration and its attendant maladjustments, than as symptomatic of inherent defects in the race-stocks represented by the foreign born exhibiting these crime rates.

As for the high criminality of interstate migrants, as shown by this tabulation, two interpretations are possible.

ease and suicidal tendencies more often than non-migrants.³ It is probable that, in any particular group of migrant felons, such as this tabulation represents, both types of interpretation are applicable.

A fruitful field for further investigation would be the analysis of a large number of case records of migrant criminals, in order to determine whether initial criminal behavior did, on the whole, precede or succeed migration.

It remains for further investigation to determine the relative weights of the two lines of interpretation that have been suggested concerning criminals and migration. In support of the second, the point

MIGRATION AND CRIME, BUFFALO, 1929

BIRTH PLACE	100 MALE FELONS, BUFFALO, 1929		110 MALE STUDENTS, HUTCHINSON CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, BUFFALO, 1929		PER CENT DIFFERENCE	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Difference of felons from high school students	Probable error of male student group
Born in Buffalo	27	27	153	69.6	-42.6	±2.01
New York State outside of Buffalo	14	14	29	13.2	+8	±1.52
United States outside of New York State ..	51	51	24	10.9	+40.1	±1.42
Foreign Countries	8	8	14	6.4	+1.6	±1.11

The one is that adopted by Mead, in his comment on the census data referred to above. It is that criminals are, by the nature of their profession, and by personal predilection, migratory. In other words, migration follows from criminalism. The other interpretation is just the opposite, namely that migration—particularly that involved in moving from one sort of environment to another—involves personality strain, of such a sort, and in such a degree, that it may eventuate in criminal behavior, along with other forms of pathological conduct. In this connection, it may be observed that migrants—more particularly country-to-city migrants and immigrants—appear to break down into mental dis-

may be made that this interpretation fits into a generalized theory of the relation of environmental change to human behavior that has won considerable support among observers of social phenomena. As Burgess puts it, "Disorganization—of attitudes and conduct is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city, and the discarding of the habitual, and often of what has been to him the moral, is not infrequently accompanied by sharp mental conflict and sense of personal loss."⁴

³ See, Parsons, *Annual Statistical Review of Patients in the State Hospitals and Private Licensed Institutions for Mental Disease*, (New York State Department of Mental Hygiene Publication), Albany, 1929, p. 156; Cavan, *Suicide*, Chicago, 1928, pp. 54 and 330.

⁴ Park and Burgess; *The City*, Chicago, 1925, p. 54.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

AUTO CAMPS IN THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND

NORMAN HAYNER

University of Washington

EACH stage in the evolution of transportation seems to have been associated with changes in the forms of hospitality. Just as the inn developed in response to travel in animal-drawn vehicles and the hotel in response to the growth of railroads and the steamship, so the automobile tourist camp has developed as a new type of habitat for the traveler in response to the development of the automobile and automobile touring.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to describe the patronage, physical equipment, geographical distribution, and recent changes in this new variety of hospitality.

TOURING THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND

The Pacific Coast of America from Vancouver, British Columbia, to San Diego, California, falls geographically into two distinct divisions:

The Siskiyou watershed at the southern boundary of Oregon divides the region into two supplementary zones. To the north extends an evergreen forest belt that increases in density with the increasing precipitation northward. To the south extends the ever brown belt comprising the several great valleys of

California which, under modern methods of irrigation, have become regions of intensive agriculture with flourishing towns and cities. The geographical contrasts in these two sections of the Pacific rim have given rise to tremendous north and south movements of products and people. The basic products of these regions are supplementary rather than competitive. The north exports its lumber, grain, and fish for which the south exchanges its oil, sugar, citrous fruits, and early vegetables. Seasonal differences effect a similar supplementary exchange of population. The summer stimulates a northward flow of California's migratory laborers and tourists, the winter months cause a reciprocal movement of people from Oregon, Washington, and Western Canada.²

As an index to this seasonal flow of tourists and workers into the evergreen area non-resident motor vehicle registrations may be used. The average number of Oregon permits issued each month for the seven years, 1923-29, indicates that in the order named July, August, and June are the peak months. California leads all other states with 61,104 registrations (1929), Washington comes second with 18,551, and Idaho third with 4,884.

The dominance of automobile transportation in this seasonal flow of population is suggested by the United States Bureau of Customs statistics for the year

¹ For a more detailed discussion of these successive forms of hospitality see the writer's forthcoming article on "The Auto Camp as a New Type of Hotel" in *Sociology and Social Research*.

² R. D. McKenzie, "Ecological Succession in the Puget Sound Region," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII, pp. 61 and 63.

ending June 30, 1929, which indicate that more than four times as many passengers enter the various ports of entry in Washington by automobile as by boat, and ten times as many by automobile as by train. Although the number of passengers crossing the boundary at Blaine in automobiles increased more than five times between 1921 and 1929 the number of passengers entering the United States by train through this port of entry in 1929 was only one-fifth the number in 1919.

An interesting observation on the psychology of the "tourist horde" was included in a letter to the writer from an auto camp owner in southern Oregon.

Post cards written home by the average traveler show that the main topic is how many miles were covered for the day and how many they expect to make the next day. A comfortable clean place to stop is of secondary importance, and very seldom is any mention made of any scenery passed through. They did not see it, traveling 40 to 50 miles per hour.

In order to gain first hand knowledge of the auto camps in western Oregon and Washington and southwestern British Columbia and to experience personally the psychology of touring, the writer and his wife joined the streams of tourists and motored three thousand miles in the area between Courtenay on Vancouver Island and Crater Lake in southern Oregon. Case studies of typical auto camps visited on this tour have proved valuable as a basis for the interpretation of maps and statistics.

THE PHYSICAL EQUIPMENT OF AUTO CAMPS

A study of 714 auto camps in the Evergreen Playground³ indicates that 551, or

³ This study includes 401 camps in western Oregon as indicated by the files of the State Health Officer, 256 camps in western Washington based on the records of the Washington Automobile Association and 57 camps in southwestern British Columbia reported by

77.2 per cent, of these are cabin camps with a total of 5,450 cabins. In Table I is given the distribution of these camps by size in number of cabins.

In Chart I will be seen the items of physical equipment provided in 313 auto camps in the Puget Sound Region.

It will be noted that a majority of these camps have running water, wood stoves for which the wood is furnished, electric lights, a store, and a community house or kitchen, and that a considerable proportion also provide shower baths and laundry facilities. It is interesting that ac-

TABLE I
NUMBER OF CABINS IN 714 AUTO CAMPS IN THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND

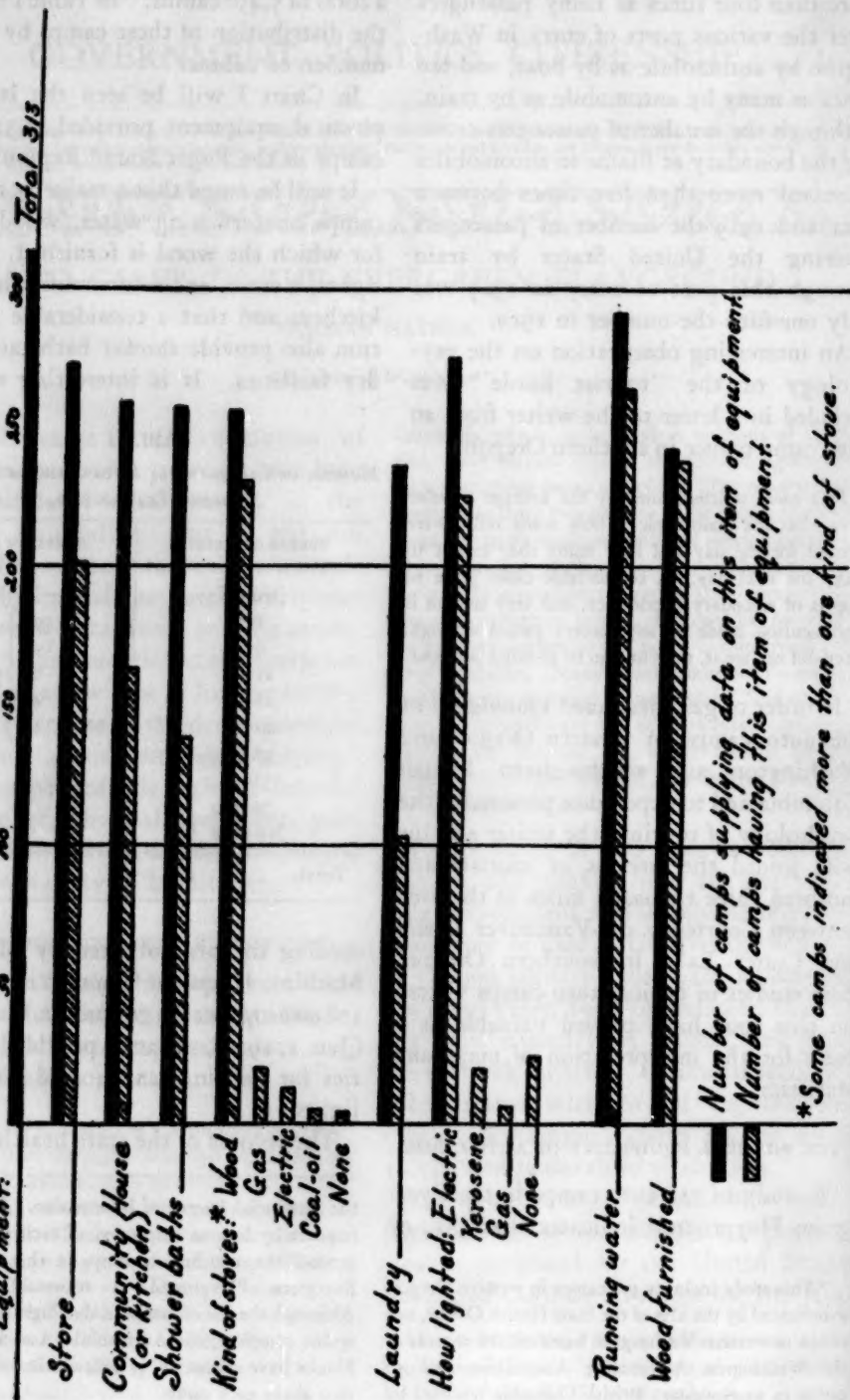
NUMBER OF CABINS	NUMBER OF CAMPS
(None)	129
1-5	195
6-10	191
11-15	65
16-20	46
21-25	15
26-50	34
51-75	3
76-100	2
No data	34
Total.....	714

cording to data collected by Mr. F. W. Mathias, Hoquiam Commercial Club, on 108 *municipal* camp grounds in Washington (Jan. 1, 1925), 74 camps provided no facilities for bathing, and 40 did not furnish lights.

The records of the state health officer in

the Provincial Bureau of Information. Since Oregon requires by law an inspection of each tourist campground the number of camps in that part of the Evergreen Playground is reasonably complete. Although the list of camps in the Puget Sound Region is not complete, the Automobile Association record blanks have spaces for 35 different items of information about each camp.

*Physical Equipment of 313 Auto Camps in the
Pacot Sound Region*



Portland contain items that may be used as an index to the sanitary conditions in the 401 western Oregon tourist campgrounds. Of these camps 280 have flush toilets and 109 pit toilets.⁴ These toilets are swept daily in 361 camps, weekly in 10, twice weekly in 14, three times weekly in 5, and "when necessary" in 10. They are washed out daily in 263 camps, weekly in 62, twice weekly in 23, three times weekly in 9, monthly in 1, "when necessary" in 38, and "often" in 4. Mattress covers are provided in 299 camps, no mattress covers are provided in 36 and some mattress covers in 4.⁵

The physical equipment provided in the auto camps patronized by the writer and his wife on their tour varied from one item—a faucet with running water—in a free "forest camp" to the comfortable furnishings in a \$2.00 wayside apartment described as follows in the diary of the trip:

The main room was equipped with a good bed (bedding could be rented for 50¢ if desired), chairs, mirror, and clothes closet. The kitchen was a separate room with an excellent wood cook stove, running hot and cold water, sink, cupboards, table, chairs, dishes, cutlery, cooking utensils, and even a line for hanging up dish towels. The bath was also a separate room and included a flush toilet, wash bowl, mirror, hot and cold shower. The walls were plastered, the windows attractively curtained, and there was linoleum on the floor.

COMMERCIAL AND RESORT CAMPS

The geographical distribution of 313 auto camps in the Puget Sound Region is shown on Map I. An outstanding characteristic of this distribution is the tendency

toward an increase in number along the Pacific Highway. This is especially true at a junction of highways as at Olympia or near a center of population like Seattle. About four-fifths of the camps in western Washington are seven miles or less from a business district and more than one-fourth are one-half mile or less from a trading center.

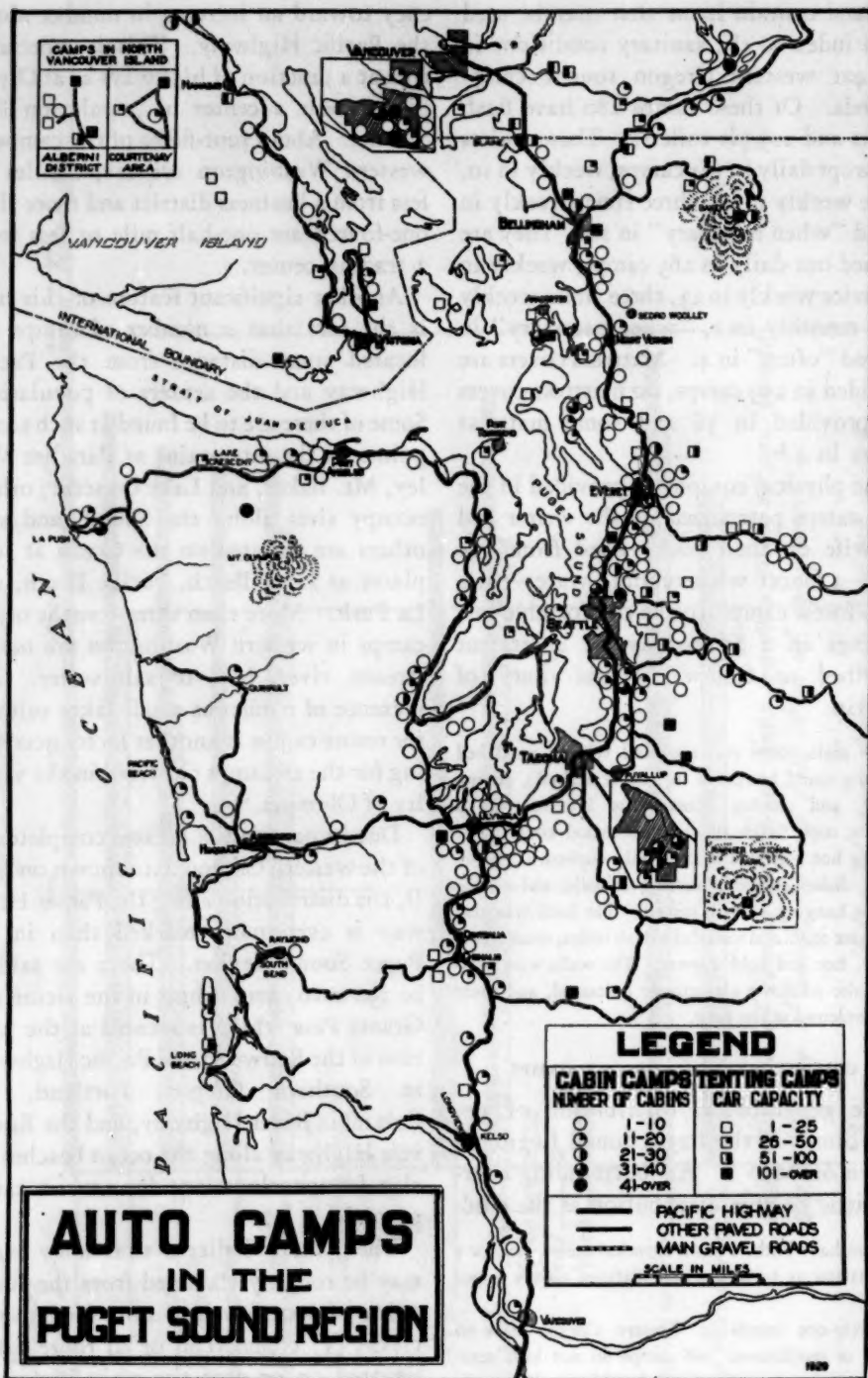
Another significant feature of this map is the fact that a number of camps are located some distance from the Pacific Highway and the centers of population. Some of these are to be found at such scenic points in the mountains as Paradise Valley, Mt. Baker, and Lake Crescent; others occupy sites along the Sound, and still others are situated on the Ocean at such places as Long Beach, Pacific Beach, and La Push. More than three-fourths of the camps in western Washington are near a stream, river, lake or salt water. The presence of numerous small lakes suitable for resort camps is another factor accounting for the 26 camps clustered in the vicinity of Olympia.

Due in part to the greater completeness of the western Oregon data shown on Map II, the distribution along the Pacific Highway is even more marked than in the Puget Sound Region. There are said to be 190 auto camp cabins in the vicinity of Grants Pass which is located at the junction of the Redwood and Pacific Highways in Southern Oregon. Portland, the Columbia River Highway, and the Roosevelt Highway along the ocean beaches are also favorite locations for tourist campgrounds.

These maps indicate that auto camps may be roughly classified from the standpoint of location into two fundamental types: (1) commercial or en route camps situated on or near the main highways, and (2) resort or terminal camps located in

⁴ Ten have both, 1 has a chemical toilet, and for 1 information as to toilets and mattress covers is not given.

⁵ Sixty-one camps in Western Oregon have no cabins or tenthouses. 366 camps do not have tenthouses; 32 have tenthouses and cabins; 3 have only tenthouses.



MAP I



MAP II

the mountains or on the water at objective points for vacationing.

While commercial camps tend to be open all year, resort camps are usually open only for the "season."⁶ "We figure on breaking even in winter and making money in summer," said the owner of a 68-cabin, efficiently equipped commercial camp. Resort camps are obviously more influenced by the changing seasons than camps located along the Pacific Highway and they also tend to experience more distinct weekly fluctuations due to the flow of city people to mountains and beaches over the week end. Although it was July 11 when the writer and his companion reached Paradise Valley on their tour, winter snows of from 28 to 35 feet in depth had not yet completely melted from this summer tourist center, and in Paradise Camp the tents were in process of erection.

Commercial camps may be situated in the center or on the periphery of a town or city or on the highway in the open country many miles from a business district. Camps located in a small city may be successful financially, but tend to be unattractive and noisy. On the other hand camps located on the periphery of a town may be more attractive and less noisy, but tend to lack the physical conveniences of intra-city camps. Open country camps have still greater difficulty in providing for adequate sanitary arrangements and for such comforts as private shower baths, gas stoves, and sinks with running water. This is sometimes compensated for by beauty of environment but here also cabins tend to be arranged in "company front," i.e. all in a row parallel or perpendicular to the highway.

⁶ One hundred seventy-seven, or 69.1 per cent, of the 256 auto camps in Western Washington were open all year, whereas 100, or 60.6 per cent, of the 165 hotels and resorts listed by the Washington Automobile Association for this area and reporting on this item were open an average of five months.

Resort camps, whose main attraction is for those who love the out-of-doors,⁷ may be divided roughly into two main groups: (1) beach camps and (2) mountain camps. The rise of Paradise Camp in Rainier National Park and its increasing popularity as compared with Paradise Inn is described in the following quotation from an unpublished sociological study of Paradise Inn made by Mr. Lawrence J. Zillman who has for seven summers served as chief clerk in that famous resort. It is interesting that he refers to the Public Camp Grounds in Paradise Valley as "maintained by the government for those rapidly diminishing numbers who still prefer to bring their own tents and 'camp out' in pioneer style."

Paradise Camp is operated on the European plan with a lunch counter in connection. This is the closest approximation to the auto camp to be found in the park, since here tents may be rented without meals, bedding may be rented, there is a public stove, laundry, etc., similar to the general equipment of the increasingly popular tourist camps. Almost all of the rooms in connection with this department of the Park Company operations are in tents, with a limited number in the main building. These latter, it is of interest to observe, are as desirable as those without running water in the Paradise Inn, yet they may be obtained at a much smaller rate and with the option of meals either at the Camp building or at the Inn dining room. Paradise Camp is well maintained, prices are very reasonable and as I shall show below many of those who formerly patronized the Inn are now following the popular trend and stopping at the less expensive accommodations. This is especially true of the local patrons, from Portland, Tacoma and Seattle who have learned much through years of experience and who feel unable to meet the greater expense of the Inn.

A few years ago when the auto camp was just starting it was looked on with little favor by the majority of better class travellers; this of course was before the days of modern cabins with running water, lights and the high type of equipment now available.

⁷ A study of 182 hotels and resorts in western Washington shows that the three attractions most frequently offered were fishing, reported by 133, bathing, reported by 125, and mountain climbing, reported by 86.

Those days correspond roughly with my early days at Paradise Inn, and the Inn was getting the bulk of the trade. Paradise Camp was available for those who were financially unable to meet the prices of the hotel, and a census of the cars parked near the tents at the camp would have shown the majority to be those vernacularly known as "crates." Now it is not at all uncommon to see Packards and Cadillacs and other expensive cars parked near the tents. Of late years there have been many nights, week-end nights which formerly represented maximum capacity for the Inn, when as many as seventy-five tent rooms have been assigned to the use of the camp for the care of the overflow.

THE PASSING OF THE MUNICIPAL CAMP

In pioneer times the stranger was usually a welcome guest in the home, but, with the building of railroads and the resultant flow of population into the Pacific Northwest, hospitality was either commercialized or limited to intimate friends or relatives. With the rise of the automobile and the increasing interest in touring came a new form of western hospitality—the municipal tourist camp. The following experience of a small town in western Washington with its tourist camp is typical.

Influenced by the "good advertising" and tourist trade they expected to obtain, the town of S— had in 1921 purchased a tract of land and with labor volunteered by loyal citizens established a Tourist Park. Each year improvements had been made but with gradually declining enthusiasm.

During the winter of 1927 many complaints were made against the camp. Undesirable people made their abode there and demanded that wood be hauled and light furnished. Business men complained of unpaid debts. M——— Camp Tourist Park, a private enterprise, objected to "unfair competition." It was finally decided not to continue the camp as an auto park, but to keep it clean for a picnic spot.*

The history of the tourist camp in one of the large cities of the Evergreen Playground is given below from the standpoint of a member of the Tourist Commit-

tee of the Chamber of Commerce, an active booster for the camp.

In 1920 X— had only the present picnic grounds in one of its parks with a capacity for about 25 cars. I agitated for an adequate camp and the present camp was finally established in 1922. We got an appropriation each year from the city council and each year made a profit of at least \$5,000 for the city (The camp was a tent camp and charged 50¢ a night from the start). But every year there was a fight against the tourist camp and it always had one source—the Hotel Mens' Association. Every year the tourist committee of the Chamber of Commerce, its largest committee, convinced the City Council and the Park Board of the need. We wanted the tourist park maintained until we could get carefully regulated and controlled private camps.

The Camp was closed for the 1929 season and the gist of the matter is this—the present mayor in his campaign pledged appointment of a Park Board that would oppose the camp if the hotel men would support him for mayor. Many tourists come to the old site which is now padlocked and not used and are disappointed to find it closed. Some say they will never come to X— again. Some go to smaller adjacent communities like B— and A— which towns maintain municipal camps. Still others go to private camps. But many of these private camps are supported by illegitimate business with a turnover three times a night.

The passing of the municipal camp seems to be due to the opposition of the hotel men and the owners of private camps. A leading Canadian hotel man wrote the author as follows:

Tourist Camps to me are a bugbear, and are one of the chief menaces to profitable hotel operation in this country where they are generally supported by the Government or Municipal funds which places them in the position of unfair competition to the small country and city hotel man. In Western Canada I have seen many instances where hotel men have found it difficult to make ends meet in the operation of the Hotel but yet the municipality has given grants out of taxes paid by the hotel man for the operation of a gratis auto camp.

These features of an auto camp burn me up! They have undoubtedly been the means of driving the white man out of the small country hotels, leaving them in the hands of Orientals.

Mr. Clinton A. Ambrose, secretary of the Oregon Auto Camp Association, made

* Adapted from an unpublished manuscript by Mr. G. A. Love.

the following statement in his annual report for 1928.

This Association continues its protest against the subsidized city operated tourist camp—camps maintained in competition with private enterprise which is taxed directly or indirectly for their maintenance. Laborers, mechanics and builders engaged in every conceivable business settle in these municipally operated camps—receive their facilities at less than cost, and in some cases receive free camp privileges. With this advantage, they enter into competition with legitimate enterprise, and into ruinous competition with the citizens of the community. The tourist who knows anything about the world expects to pay his way, and a reasonable charge for camp privileges will not keep him away. He does not seek charity, but prefers to pay as he goes.

TABLE II

CAMPING CHARGES PER DAY IN 313 AUTO CAMPS IN THE
PUGET SOUND REGION

COST PER DAY	NUMBER OF CAMPS
Free	43
\$0.25	29
0.30	1
0.35	1
0.40	1
0.50	196
0.75	3
1.00	3
1.50	1
No data	35
Total.....	313

THE AUTO CAMP AS A PIONEER BUSINESS

Although municipal camps are declining in both number and importance, private camps are rapidly increasing in popularity. Among other factors that account for this trend, including the increasing use of automobiles and the auto tourist movement, are the relatively low prices charged for tenting or for the use of cabins. These charges are given in Tables II and III.

It is clear from Table II that the usual tenting fee per day is 50 cents. The customary camping charge per week is from

\$2.50 to \$3.50. Twenty-five cents is the common cost of picnicing in a tourist camp.

In only ten camps in western Washington did the maximum daily fee for a cabin exceed \$3.00, the highest price being \$5.00. These higher prices are usually in resort camps where the short season makes higher prices necessary for profit on the investment.

A common practice in weekly cabin charges is to give "seven days for the price of six." The minimum rate per week was \$5.00 in 60 of the western Washington camps; \$6.00 in 41; \$7.00 in 23; and from \$7.50 to \$15.00 in 48.⁹

TABLE III

CABIN CHARGE PER DAY IN 313 AUTO CAMPS IN THE
PUGET SOUND REGION

MINIMUM CHARGE PER DAY	NUMBER OF CAMPS
Under \$1.00	7
1.00	132
1.25	15
1.50	45
2.00	21
2.50	2
3.00	2
3.50	1
No data	88
Total.....	313

The growing popularity of this "new variety of hotel" is a disturbing fact to the managers of the second and third rate "legitimate" hostelrys. In their conventions and trade journals hotel men are discussing methods of persuading the traveler to stay in a hotel rather than in a camp. Some hotels are now making no extra charge for a salesman's wife provided he is a regular patron. Large sign boards near cities advertising various hotels flaunt such significant words as "free garage." "Tourists Accommodated—and No Ques-

⁹ Five camps charged less than \$5.00 and no data was available for 89 of the 256.

tions Asked!", the title of a recent (October 1929) leading article in *Hotel Management*, illustrates one type of criticism that hotel men are making of "accommodation houses and cabin developments." The attitude of a leading hotel man in the Puget Sound Region was expressed to the writer during an interview in approximately the following language:

Auto camps do not compete with the Y—, but as president of the Hotel Association I have received complaints from managers of lower priced hotels—\$1.00 and \$2.50—whose business has been cut into by auto camps. I have sent investigators to nearby camps. Their reports were for the most part oral, but led to very definite conclusions: (1) Auto camps tend to be unsanitary. The state health officer investigates camps but is not required by law to do so. As a result the investigation is not strict.¹⁰ (2) Some of their business is illegitimate. A man who will hesitate to take a girl to a hotel knows that he can go to an auto camp.

About two years ago a movement began against free municipal auto camps and now there is not an important city on the Coast that has one.

That unmarried guests and noisy patrons are frequently entertained by auto camps is no doubt as true as in the case of many so-called "legitimate" hotels, but the fact that in the better camps the guest must not only register his name and address as in a hotel but also the license number of his car is no doubt a check on behavior. "Souvenir hunting," i.e. petty stealing, does not appear to be as common in the auto camp as in the large metropolitan hotel, one of which reports a monthly loss of 2,000 towels. The owner of one Oregon camp declared that, although the camp had been established four years, "we have never had a thing stolen, but have returned hundreds of articles including a

wrist watch, a diamond ring, and \$100 in cash." At all the camps in which the writer and his wife stayed, however, it was the rule to pay in advance. "That's the only way to run an auto camp" one of the managers asserted.

The Canadian hotel man quoted above said in an interview:

Third class hotel men cannot object to conditions in auto camps until they improve their own enterprises. This class of hotels specialize on the bar (as in the United States prior to prohibition). If the guest comes in just for a room he does not get the service that he would in the bar. Many of the rooms are unsanitary and unfit for occupation.

The apartment hotel and the auto camp have a big advantage over the legitimate hotel in that they more closely duplicate the home situation of their patrons. Since "a modern home away from home" comes closer to realization in the better type of auto camp than in the hotel, the patron is more likely to bring his family with him.

Although auto camp owners compete among themselves and with hotels, they have also organized into both informal and formal associations. Camps a day's journey or more apart advertise each other by means of cards, placards, or personal recommendation. An informal "chain" has been organized up and down the Coast "to operate only under a gentleman's agreement." A member "does not waive his right to do any class of advertising he may wish, or to belong to any association, but he does obligate himself to see that each and every car that stops at his camp gets a list of the chain membership with his personal recommendations."

Auto camp owners in Oregon and California have formed associations and have annual meetings. In the vicinity of Vancouver, B. C., they have an association which holds meetings during the winter at which members come to an agreement as

¹⁰ According to H. W. Nightingale, sanitary engineer, Washington State Department of Health, in a letter to the writer dated January 15, 1930, "no regular and strictly medical inspection" is made of automobile tourist camps in Washington.

to rates and conditions in their camps. The state of Washington does not have an association. Only 48 of the 539 camps in Oregon and the same number out of about 800 camps in California belong to the Association. The owner of an excellent camp which is not a member of the Oregon Camp Owners Association wrote in a letter to the author:

You asked us why we are not members of the Camp Owners Association. For several reasons—our camp is small and there are so many camps in the association that are anything but attractive. In fact it seems any camp that wishes to join is accepted—and there is so little offered we felt personal advertising plus cleanliness would help us more. Before and since building we have inspected a number of camps and can not understand how they get in an association or get a health card (from the State Health Officer).

The auto camp business as a whole is in the pioneer stage of its development. In the words of the camp owner quoted below it "hasn't reached a stable plane of operation." Camps have sprung up like mushrooms along the main highways. Competition between them is keen. Variation in physical equipment and service for the same price is common. It now pays to "shop around" for the best camp.

In the long run, however, prices will tend to be an increasingly accurate index to service rendered. Already there is a wide difference between camps with a minimum cabin charge of \$1.00 and those with a minimum of \$2.00. To differentiate the latter some such term as "rodome" (road home) or "motel" (motor hotel) may become popular.

The owner of a 36-cabin Oregon camp located on the Pacific Highway seemed to have a more intelligent grasp of the prin-

cipal trends in the auto camp business than any other proprietor interviewed:

Camping is practically outlawed—only two last night—and the percentage who don't cook is greater than two years ago. Municipal camps are a thing of the past. They don't give service. Caretakers are frequently crabbed and impolite.

The auto camp business is in its infancy. In the future camps will have regular patrons and established business like hotels. The business is not standardized now—hasn't reached a stable plane of operation.

In conclusion, the trend in the auto camp business on the Pacific Coast has been from free to pay to cabin camps. The automobile tourist camp was first established as a civic enterprise to attract summer tourists and consequently was usually free, with water, fuel, and pit toilets provided. Later such items as electric lights, laundry facilities, showers, and flush toilets were added to many camps and a charge of fifty cents per night became general. Camps were still exclusively for tenters however. According to Mr. I. L. Putnam, supervisor of the Yuba City Auto Park in California, on the basis of information "derived from surveys made for obtaining insurance data," the first commercial, as distinguished from resort, cabin camps on the Pacific Coast were established in 1922.¹¹ By 1929 more than three quarters of 714 camps in the Evergreen Playground were cabin camps. Although the flimsy construction of most of these 5,450 cabins facilitates rapid depreciation, the trend seems to be in the direction of more permanent investments. As a result some of the better camps are really a cluster of small wayside bungalows.

¹¹ Based on a statement in a letter to the author.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF LABOR ORGANIZATION CASUALTIES

HARRIET L. HERRING

University of North Carolina

ON ACCOUNT of the opposition of southern employers to the organization of labor the first success of even a modest organization campaign is likely to bring on problems which we usually associate with much more advanced stages of labor activity. One of these is hunger, which does not wait for strikes or lockouts. It stalks close behind the organizer and falls upon the courageous or foolhardy or over-optimistic worker who embraces the cause—and especially if he lets the cause embrace him as a leader. For in a rôle that singles him out from among his fellows he is soon liable to discharge and even eviction. And so the centers in the South that have been made focal points for organizing campaigns quickly develop problems of relief.

Now a problem of relief which arises in this way is not the easiest thing to deal with. It is not a question of raising the simple human cry of the need of children for bread. It brings up elaborate questions of the jurisdiction and responsibilities of relief agencies, to say nothing of their sources of support. It involves public attitudes and private loyalties; it reaches into such fundamentals as opinions

and policies about paternalism and democracy, as civil liberties and industrial control. It presents the appeal of individual suffering versus the inevitableness of casualties in warfare. It raises the question of the bearing of relief at this early stage on possible—and probable!—future strikes.

Such are some of the ramifications which were discovered recently in a small, informal conference of interested citizens on the question of relief in the mill villages of a neighboring town. The following account of it is a somewhat organized set of notes on what was an informal, rambling discussion with no set order or even orderliness of topics. It has been supplemented with comments about related problems that have risen in other situations of labor troubles in the South.

A liberal religious leader in the town concerned went to the neighboring town to talk to an informal group interested, as he is, in both the human and economic issues involved in the attempt to organize the mills. As a sort of background to the relief problem Mr. A., as we shall call him, told the group of the gradual growth in union interest and membership; gave instances of the many sorts of pressure that are brought to bear on individuals to

make them give up union allegiance and to prevent others from joining; of control through the job that amounts, in his opinion, to loss of right of freedom of speech and assembly and other civil liberties; of the thousand and one ways which the man next the men—the immediate supervisor, the foreman, and the superintendent—finds to put into practice the general company policy of opposition to the union. Some of these methods are petty and mean and irritating; some are fundamentally demoralizing to master and men; some vastly embarrassing to the management when made public.

His immediate concern is in the absolute need that has been caused by the discharge of workers for union activity. He said there had been spasmodic need for relief almost ever since the union started, as worker after worker was discharged; that relief itself has been spasmodic with intervals when it was greatly inadequate, and on such occasions there has actually been hunger in some of the families. Hence he is trying to secure funds to be used in such emergencies.

Mr. A. had thought originally that he might organize in his own and neighboring towns committees made up of interested citizens who would, upon call, step into the breach with contributions of their own and their friends to tide over those intervals when other means of relief fail. The advisability of doing this has been questioned: such men and women would have to be interested not only in the problem of human need, but at least not unfavorable to unions, to the economic ends sought by the workers. Some who would be quick to respond to the need would have doubts about the ends involved; some would be hindered by personal ties and loyalties from taking active sides in such a contest; still others would hesitate to call down censure upon their organiza-

tions or institutions. Citizens of other towns might well hesitate to organize themselves into committees to meddle into the internal difficulties of a neighboring town. Thus, right at the outset the simple question of food for hungry people had to buck the heavy lines of unfamiliarity with, or at least lack of enthusiasm for, the ideals and methods of unionism, to say nothing of the real ends of it. It had to buck the still heavier line of a closely knit society where everybody knows everybody else and all are bound together by a thousand ties of kinship and friendship as well as those of social intercourse and business interdependence. And so Mr. A. has decided to try to secure only a small local committee of fearless souls who, with a treasurer from among them, will administer any funds that individuals may care to give.

A member of the group who has made some study of industrial and union history asked if the union is not rendering aid, if it does not consider all this an essential part of its organizing job. Mr. A. replied that the United Textile Workers headquarters have sent funds amounting to several hundred dollars, but this has been quite irregular. One reason of course is that the U. T. W. has very limited funds which its intensive organization program is taxing heavily. Besides, this organization does not have a tradition or a reputation for planning thoroughly for all the emergencies which will surely arise in an organizing campaign. The chief reason, however, is because the central organization cannot properly comprehend the fact that union activity in the textile mills of the South is, *per se*, a cause of discharge and of quick, dire need. Mr. A. is optimistic on this point and is sure that experience in the South will gradually cause a change of policy, until the U. T. W. sees that the real battle lies just here—that no perma-

nent organization can be built up if the more active members are systematically lopped off and starved into submission or forced to leave the community in search of work. The A. F. of L. is waking up to this part of the program and is making plans to provide funds. The difficulty is that this takes time and in the meantime, in the intervals between the receipt of funds, women and children—non-combatants—are hungry.

Incidentally it might be added here, in connection with the problem of relief by the union, that experience in a recent strike showed that it was not prepared to give even strike relief—to fulfill the extravagant promises made in the organization campaign that the union would feed the people twenty years if necessary. In that same strike some felt that the union, in helping to administer relief funds contributed by individuals and church groups, placed too much emphasis on making relief contingent upon union membership as a means of holding the union together, whereas the money had been contributed for all who were needy as a result of the strike. There have been instances of need unrelieved by the union because of difficulties and jealousies between union leaders. There have been strikes, actual and imminent, when high officials have coldly said that the local union could not depend on the general organization for aid, although the whole organization education had centered around such standing together. Now all such practical problems of administration and human frailty are naturally bound to accompany any labor organization or strike, but so far the South has not known much about this particular seamy side of unionism. The sight of it discredits unions with a public all too ready to believe ill of them; it discourages friends who would help, and antagonizes social workers who must help.

A member of the conference who is much interested in city social work and welfare asked what the city relief agencies are doing and if, in view of the fact that the villages are in the city limits, relief there is not their job. Mr. A. thinks that it probably is to a certain extent. There are, however, some practical and traditional difficulties. As in many such towns and cities in the South, the mill villages have not always been in the city limits, and small funds and small staffs of associated charities have resulted in these agencies leaving the mill cases for the mill welfare workers. Especially so, since in this, as in some other similar villages, the owners plainly prefer to have no outside agencies come in except upon special permission or invitation. Community chests have to depend for their heaviest contributions upon industrialists and so their wishes are adhered to fairly closely. When representatives of the associated charities have appeared at evictions and endeavored to render aid the indignation of the workers at their personal dilemma made them impatient with these unfamiliar representatives of an unfamiliar organization. They even had a feeling that the agency, either on its own responsibility or worse, at the suggestion of the company, was suddenly taking an interest and trying to get the evicted people out of sight, smooth things over, and prevent unfavorable publicity. Under such conditions the reception given the representatives of the agency was not such as to make them eager to continue. And so because of another set of policies and personalities a group of people fall hungry and homeless in the gap of the disagreement.

Another member of the conference asked at about this point if the people who have been discharged are looking for jobs or if the policy of the union is for them to stay there so as to keep their case before the public and their fellow workers, and to

keep them in the union. Mr. A. said they are trying to get jobs though this is hard right now, and of course as a long run policy the union does not like to have them move away too quickly since this disperses the members who have been most active and enthusiastic. It makes the whole demonstration disappear and look as though it has died out or been smoothed over, which is what the employers want. Besides it leaves the individual worker concerned as needy as ever—more so, for he is lost to union interest, to public appeal, and cannot easily get a job in other mills because he comes from a point of "infection."

Two members of the conference who have had experience in public welfare work inquired as to what the county superintendent of public welfare is doing and whether relief is not a question of public welfare. They explained that in most North Carolina counties the county superintendent is, for all practical purposes and except for spasmodic volunteer aid, the chief and almost the only relief agent. They wondered if relief in the city in question is not as much a public matter, resulting indirectly at least from the depression and unemployment, as that which has been raised in so many counties this year.

But again there are traditional and practical difficulties. Before there was public welfare work in North Carolina the mills had to look after their people, until the necessity has become a virtue and the often reiterated statement, "We look after our people" has been pretty well accepted by the county welfare offices as a working policy to be depended on. In fact it has been carried a step further so that the county officer rather expects a mill to look after the various needs arising in its village. With the depression and unemployment that office just now has far more

demands than it has funds to meet. It would be a very practical question for the superintendent as to the wisdom of taking public funds from one set of hungry people to give to others who, a sizeable slice of the public would say, had deliberately and knowingly got themselves into this predicament.

A member of the group asked why the Red Cross did not help. He pointed out that whereas it goes into all sorts of situations where there are sudden catastrophes—why not go into this which constitutes a continuous catastrophe of really far greater proportions than most storms and floods. There was no one in the group able or willing to speak up with authority and say that the Red Cross goes only into relief made necessary by cataclysmic disaster, and never into that caused by any sort of economic maladjustment.

A member of the group who knew mill villages and mill people asked whether the union members who had not yet lost their jobs and others in the village had done anything to aid their fellows in these temporary emergencies. This passing of the hat is such a common thing in the mill village, and aid of anyone in distress is so prompt and full and free considering the means of the people that it was rather surprising children could be at the headquarters crying for food when they still lived among mill neighbors. For after all, the relative number in need is small—one family in two or three hundred—and the emergencies between the receipt of relief funds so far have been short. Mr. A. gave one instance of an operative, a union enthusiast, who had given away all his savings through his little store, helping the needy from his little stock of goods. Much has been given the families of discharged union members by villagers, but there is a definite fear that too much fraternizing would label one as a unionist

and render him liable to discharge. And so discharged unionists are careful about associating with their old friends, and if they are not sufficiently careful their old friends discourage them. Whether the fear is justified or not, it probably restrains aid. And of course it must be remembered that the workers have long been on reduced schedules, so that not only are their earnings small but most savings have been used up.

Some of the remarks and inquiries of members of the groups raised a similar question of local aid from the general public rather than any organization. As one pointed out, there has been so much need, so many hungry all over the state, each locality has had to take care of its own needy. If it has not been possible to do this through public or organized funds these have been aided by individual subscriptions. Mr. A. was not alone in suggesting that it would be poor tactics to make a general appeal for personal contributions because it could be—and by some people, not all mill owners either, would be—construed as an appeal for public approval and assistance of something that the public was not at all unanimous in approving or ready to assist. It would raise issues far afield from the simple one of hungry people. Such, for example, as that raised about relief in one North Carolina strike, that funds subscribed might be used directly or indirectly for propaganda and of doctrines that would be hateful to many of the subscribers. Or the frequently expressed opinion that the unions should not have chosen so poor a time to press their campaign when workers are so plentiful and jobs so scarce as to put the employers in a strong position; at a time when anybody with any sort of job is fortunate; should not have started the campaign in the area where wages are demonstrably highest and general condi-

tions best. All these and others are the questions that outsiders can easily raise and charges they can obviously make because they do not appreciate the difficulties of organizing the workers who have been under depressingly poor conditions as many farther South have been, nor the tactical need of seizing any opportunity like a wage cut or a restlessness under the stretch-out wherever it may be found. Anyway, the little conference group felt that an appeal for personal contributions must, at present at least, be made to selected individuals, liberals if you will, who are not terrorized by the very word unionism, and who would perhaps contribute to a special cause when they might not to some call more local in application but more general in appeal.

A member of the group who has had considerable experience in church work asked what the churches are doing. Mr. A. explained that he has called on the Federal Council of Churches, and that there is a possibility that the money remaining from some collected for relief in a certain North Carolina strike might be turned over to this. He thinks it will amount to enough to tide over spasmodic periods of need between that from other sources, but of course it will take some time to arrange for its properly authorized transfer for this use. In the meantime there is a possibility that there will be days and weeks when some families will be without food or extremely inadequate food. And of course the fact has to be faced that the Federal Council is not popular in the South and among the denominations most represented in the mill villages. If it does any direct administering of these funds this may raise problems.

The discussion about the duty of the church then went off into the question of its general duty to meet all sorts of needs of the individual. For example, some of

the ministers in one southern town involved in an actual strike declared that the churches would do the best they could to feed the hungry, though they did enter somewhat into the relative claims of unionists who have the organization to feed them and the non-unionists who were thrown out of work by the strike and the possible claims of such loyal workers on the company. The little conference group also went into the ministers' duty to preach a social gospel, and into their very special duties in time of economic strife. The southern evangelical churches have been so preoccupied with the saving of souls that most of them have been slightly concerned with social and economic problems. The best that can be hoped is to have as many as possible speak out against the practices used to put down unionism, and as many as possible present these undesirable phases of paternalism that are cropping out under the pressure of the situation. These are not so well known as the more rosy, pleasant side which has been persistently presented to the public by owners, chambers of commerce, and associations for generations till they have become part of a town's tradition and pride.

In the midst of the discussion of the hundred and one ways the policy of the employer is translated into concrete action, the poor economic position of the workers, the vast labor supply, the relative smallness of this organization demonstration, and so on, one member of the group raised the question as to whether the game was worth the candle. He asked if it was not a futile, hopeless contest at which the workers have no chance to succeed, and therefore whether relief does not just put off the evil day of submission. Mr. A. pointed out the value of fighting for a cause, the personal courage that has been displayed and the sacrifices that have been

endured. He wondered if the fight has not been worth it to the mill workers in self revelation and to the public, used as it is to thinking of them as dominated by the owners, or possessing too little initiative to make a move, or too individualistic to work together. A member of the group added that, though there seemed little chance of the union winning now or in the immediate future in any large way, it did seem too bad to have it fail too quickly; too bad for those venturesome souls who have staked so much to be demoralized by a mere handful of hungry children; too bad that a system of suppression of this little attempt at self-expression and democracy should triumph so easily. For while it is true that the recent southern textile strikes—and the early ones, too, for that matter—have nearly always failed, the very efforts have had some effect both on the employers directly concerned and on others nervous lest a similar trouble reach them. And they have certainly always roused the interest of the public and caused it to inform itself on the subject.

Finally, there was the person who wanted categorical answers: wanted to know what was going to happen and what ought to happen. Will this organization movement fail or not? Should it fail or not? Should the company that has honestly done its best for its workers for a generation be so repaid by hard words and ingratitude and by desertion to the first vociferous leader who presents himself? Should the workers who have grown up through years of slow and painful learning till they are able to creep and to walk, not be encouraged now to run and to leap? Should they be further hedged about and directed and protected? Or should they be allowed the God-given right to choose, if unwisely, and stumble and choose again and grow from the experience?

So much for the highways and byways into which the discussion of relief for union workers led that little group. And yet with all its wanderings it did not even touch on the equally complicated problems of more permanent relief of these casualties if the union fails in that particular locality of their adjustment and rehabilitation. Nor on the problem of those who recant under the combined pressure of probable union failure, of company influence, and of hunger in their families. Nor on the problem of the effect on the workers, on the community, and on the industry itself if a system of control which many feel has served its day is thus by easy victory fastened the more firmly upon the cotton mill village. All these are highly pertinent questions and closely related to the one at hand. Mr. A. is concerned with some workers discharged and a few families evicted, making in all about three hundred people who need food when other sources of relief fail. He brought the conference back repeatedly to that simple human need, and as repeatedly it went off again into the endless and overwhelming questions of public opinion, of the large economic and tactical questions involved, of the duties of organized groups, of the philosophy, the religion, the psychology, the sociology, of economic change—but chiefly, it must be confessed, into the ungracious business of passing the buck.

Not that they were conscious of passing the buck. Indeed most of them promised aid individually. They were citizens interested in these new phenomena that are taking place in the South. They came to learn; it was only a measure of their information and their interest that they

remained to quiz. The group was not different from other intelligent citizens of the state except that most of them knew more about the machinery of relief, economic history, or union methods. This little conference was in itself an indication of what is happening in the South. Here was a group of liberals who were not so greatly shocked at the invasion of rights which results from a system of putting down the union, nor even greatly touched by the appeal of physical human needs that results from the process. We are getting used to labor difficulties and strikes. Three years ago most of that group or others like them would have been indignant and distressed at the details that now chiefly interested them as concrete results of a vastly fascinating and complicated social process and social structure spread out before them.

And this absorbing interest in the process, this admission that we must be prepared to see casualties in this strife, make all the more valuable the leader who refuses to have his sensibilities dulled by many such casualties and even by the necessity for them. That should be the position of the social worker who deals with individuals and finds them valuable; that must be the position of the religious leader to whom the individual is the most precious possession of society. And that is why men like Mr. A. are valuable—because they cannot get used to casualties, because they cherish the one wounded private as tenderly as the general does his army, because they see us all as members one with another, even to the least of those who are caught between the millstones of powerful social forces, who fall between the gaps in social organization.

LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER, PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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COOLEY AND SMITH

RUPERT B. VANCE

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SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH. By Charles Horton Cooley. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930. 345 pp. \$3.00.

FUGITIVE PAPERS. By Russell Gordon Smith. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 119 pp. \$1.50.

Before these two volumes a reviewer may doff his mantle of critical pretense. Twelve selected papers of an acknowledged master, a savant grown grey and honored in his science, lie on the table with the fugitive papers of that science's most promising and eager neophyte, unhappily dead. Cooley's place is secure. In a field of ponderous tomes his five slender volumes contain a contribution which no future sociologist will have the hardihood to ignore. Smith remains relatively unknown. He died at work on a *magnum opus* which, it is feared, may never see the light. But he left a record of his talks to his classes which Professor Giddings and Dean Hawkes have, as a labor of love, gathered in this small sheaf. Here may have been an emerging Cooley, more filled with doubt and irony and a certain post-war weariness, but honest, questing, and with the gift for the trenchant phrase. In this age of high-powered research and neglected undergraduates, Smith gave himself to his boys without stint. Students respond; critics of the goose-step notwithstanding. There has long been a Cooley cult; there now exists at Columbia a Smith cult. There is, no doubt, more ever-present help in Cooley's *Life and the Student* and Smith's *Fugitive Papers* to the searcher for approaches in teaching sociology than in many monographs. Besides his talks, Smith's volume contains his article on the culture area concept which followers of this journal have been privileged to read.

Cooley's volume shows the range of his development. He begins with the economics of transportation and ends with the dialectic of personal growth. The William James of sociology, Cooley wrote a social psychology without terminology—which means, as far as his work is concerned, one good in any terminology. He was the first to see that heredity and

environment were inextricably interfused. He gave us the concept of the primary group and an organic view of society very different from that of Spencer, but he founded no school of sociology, bound himself to no system of concepts. A style that was the man and a deep and sympathetic grasp of complex human life mark his work. The present volume contains his early studies on the ecology of transportation, the production of geniuses as indices of social environment and racial ability, competition as a personal and social rather than as an economic force, and the development of the verbal recognition of self in children. Later short papers, those modest and persuasive papers we have heard him read at Chicago and Washington, show Cooley reflecting on methodology, pleading for more of the life content in social studies, and slyly suggesting that Sumner with no discoverable methods achieved more than men of many techniques. One feels throughout that Cooley agrees with Smith's conviction that the concepts of classic sociology are no more than a Plantonic *ideal* of society.

This book reinforces one's conviction that because of Cooley's urbanity and tolerance we have overlooked the implications of his benign objectivity. Because he was cradled in the purple—born a gentleman and bred a scholar—Cooley never saw sociology as a cause. Here was no thwarted minister, unfrocking himself to seize sociology as a substitute panacea for a lost world. Working in a discipline compelled by the nature of its task to discard much theological rubbish, Cooley developed no bitterness toward organized religion and no contempt for religious experience. Here was no hot-eyed radical, grown sober and scientific in the effort to make his reform respectable. Living in the period of the muck raker,

boss rule, and the reversion to fascism, Cooley retained an enviable faith in democracy. The people can be trusted to know a good man when they see him. "The plainest men," he said, "have an inherent shrewdness in judging human nature which makes them good critics of persons even when impenetrable to ideas." Least of all was Cooley the hidebound conservative, rationalizing stale defences of an existing order. It is noteworthy

that the primary group, possibly the most enduring contribution to the theory of the family in a generation, bears no more demonstrable relation to the hysterical recall to the *status quo* than to the revolt of "the sex boys up in a balloon." With an emotional balance, a sanity, and a clarity unhappily vouchsafed too rarely to those who deal in inflammable materials, Cooley never saw the need for devotion to any cause except truth.

NEWS AND THE NEWSPAPER

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

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HISTORY OF COOPERATIVE NEWS-GATHERING IN THE UNITED STATES. By Victor Rosewater. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930. xiv + 430 pp. \$3.50.

SOME FORERUNNERS OF THE NEWSPAPER IN ENGLAND: 1476-1622. By Matthias A. Shaaber. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. xi + 368 pp.

THE MODERN NEWSPAPER. By Nancy Barr Mavity. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930. xi + 320 pp. \$2.50.

THE EDITORIAL PAGE. By Robert W. Jones. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1930. xi + 185 pp. \$2.

THE NEWSPAPER AND RESPONSIBILITY. By Paul F. Douglass. Cincinnati: Caxton Press, 1929. 114 pp.

AN INTRODUCTION TO JOURNALISM: AUTHORITATIVE VIEWS ON THE PROFESSION. Edited by Lawrence W. Murphy. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1930. vii + 399 pp.

THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT: THE STORY OF ITS FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. By Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930. xii + 240 pp.

NEWSPAPER ORGANIZATION. By D. J. Hornberger and Douglass W. Miller. Delaware, Ohio: Bureau of Business Service, Ohio Wesleyan University, 1930. 30 pp., with 18 charts.

THE COUNTRY NEWSPAPER AND ITS OPERATION. By James Clifford Safely. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930. x + 390 pp. \$3.

The list of student dissertations in sociology in the July, 1930, issue of The

American Journal of Sociology, includes as in progress 19 research projects that relate to the newspaper, which indicates that the newspaper as a social institution is receiving attention. There is a growing recognition that the newspaper is to be studied not as an isolated phenomenon nor as the unique product of the great editor, but that it must be understood in the light of the cultural setting of which it is a part. The books listed above in varying degrees contribute to the understanding of the newspaper, particularly in this country.

Victor Rosewater, formerly of the Omaha Bee, a life-long newspaper man, has written a brilliant book tracing the complicated rise of the major news associations in the United States. It is an intricate story, with many aspects that were of short duration. To tell it with the clarity of this volume is no small achievement. Rosewater starts with the beginnings of systematic news-gathering which go back to 1811 and the activity of Samuel Topliff, Jr., who took over the *Marine and General News Book* and showed great initiative in developing methods for

acquiring information. It was he who first utilized boats to meet incoming sailing ships, a method of facilitating news-gathering that was to develop greatly in the early years of the 19th century. Rosewater carries his discussion through the early stages of the New York Associated Press, with its subsequent rise and fall, and includes full discussion of the growth of the early United Press. Nowhere is there a clearer picture of the factors that gave rise to the Western Associated Press and its struggles with other powerful associations, or the eventual rise of the Associated Press of Illinois and its subsequent metamorphosis into the Associated Press of New York (1900).

Two basic theories of news-gathering can be seen in the history of the associations in this country: one based on a monopoly concept in which the gathered news is for the use of the associated members, with rigid control by the organization over the disseminated material (associated Press of New York); the other that news is commodity to be sold to those who wish to buy (United Press). The struggle between the agencies in the past has centered very largely in these theories.

Rosewater's volume is an admirable example of social history. Unlike many writers in the field of the newspaper he attempts to relate changes in newspaper production to changes in related parts of the total culture. His discussion of the effects of the telegraph upon newspaper production is an admirable illustration. In fact, the development of cooperative news-gathering agencies was itself induced by the appearance of inventions, at first unrelated to the newspaper, which because of economic factors involved necessitated cooperative activity. To those who are interested in social control, the newspaper as an institution, or the study of public opinion this book is

invaluable, and it will also provide unlimited illustrative material in showing the influence of culture change upon any given social institution.

Equally interesting for sociologists is the Shaaber volume. Printing reached England in the last quarter of the 15th century; the first English newspaper is usually conceded to be dated 1622. During the intervening years the printing press was used for the spreading of news, but in form unlike that of the newspaper. News material was available in many forms (proclamations, etc.) but most important were newsbooks and ballads. In these are to be found materials not unlike those of the present newspaper, interspersed with moralizing. The development of the concept of news was slow. News of state and important personages occupies much attention, but purely popular news was also important; the 16th century had "tabloid interests" no less than the 20th. The student of cultural diffusion will be struck by the fact that the English newspaper did not rise directly from its forerunners in England, but came rather as the result of continental influence. Strictly speaking it is German serial publications that are the direct parents of the English newspaper. At the same time the way for the acceptance of these had been paved by the English ballads and newsbooks which had created a taste for the highly unique publication now known as a newspaper.

Mrs. Mavity, feature writer of the Oakland (Cal.) Tribune, has written a textbook for classes in journalism that is unusual. It is not the stereotyped handbook for the prospective reporter but is a well rounded consideration of the place and function of the newspaper in modern society, with the technical material relegated to a place of secondary interest. Part I, "The Modern Newspaper," is a

compelling discussion of the rôle of modern newspapers, and an able defense of them. Much of the criticism of the newspaper comes from a misconception of its functions, and the attempt to make the newspaper assume functions other than those that it has. Newspapers are printed for people of varying interest, and reflect them. As the interests change, so will the papers. To argue that newspapers ought to be something other than what they are is beside the point. All of this Mrs. Mavity states most ably. This first section will be of general interest to social scientists. Part II, still interesting, has more of the textbook flavor.

The volume by Jones, *The Editorial Page*, discusses the purpose of the editorial as well as the mechanics of its construction. The introductory chapter on newspaper policy stresses the need for such and the importance of the editorial in interpreting this and making it effective.

In *The Newspaper and Responsibility*, Douglass pleads for the professionalization of newspaper men. The basic thesis is that the newspaper of today is largely the work of men of no special training with the result that the newspaper fails to carry the significance of events to its readers. Improvement in newspapers will come when, through journalistic art, news material is presented so that its significance is clear to the reader, and this can occur only when professionalization develops. Here is a doctrine somewhat at

odds with that expounded by Mrs. Mavity, who regards the newspaper more realistically.

Professor Murphy, of the School of Journalism, University of Illinois, has collected a volume of readings relating to journalism and designed as a text. The subjects are varied. It is unfortunate that the original source of the materials is not indicated. As a source of opinion relating to the various aspects of the newspaper and its production, the book may be useful.

The *Boston Transcript* in 1930 attained its hundredth year, and Chamberlin's book traces the history of the paper, unique in that it has been in the control of one family throughout the century. The book contains much interesting information on social conditions, and shows how these were reflected in the pages of the paper.

In the pamphlet on *Newspaper Organization* the authors present material to show the main types of organization to be found in this country. It is interesting in that it demonstrates that newspaper organization is unstandardized and has developed, paper by paper, to meet local needs far more than is true of most businesses. The results are based on information supplied by 211 publishers.

The volume by Safely is a text for journalism classes, and while competent it contains little that will not be found in other equally competent texts.

FOUR HERALDS OF DEMOCRACY

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

FRANKLIN, THE APOSTLE OF MODERN TIMES. By Bernard Fay. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1929. xvi + 547 pp. \$3.00.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, THE APOSTLE OF AMERICANISM. By Gilbert Chinard. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1929. xix + 548 pp. \$5.00.

- THE LIFE OF MIRANDA.** By William Spence Robertson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929, 2 vols., xviii + 327, x + 306 pp. \$10.00.
- MIRANDA Y LOS ORÍGINES DE LA INDEPENDENCIA AMERICANA.** By Carlos A. Aldao. Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, Editor, 1928. 329 pp.
- NEUVOS DATOS SOBRE EL GENERAL MIRANDA Y LAS INVASIONES BRITÁNICAS AL RIO DE LA PLATA.** By Carlos A. Aldao. Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, Editor, 1929. 37 pp.
- SIMÓN BOLÍVAR.** By Hildegard Angell. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1930. xi + 296 pp. \$3.00.

Four men very different, yet all alike destined to make great contributions to the cause of democracy in the eighteenth century. Miranda was an aristocrat and adventurer, yet the restless herald of colonial revolt in South America. He was a general in France, where he fought for the revolution; one of a succession of gallant favorites of Catherine II of Russia; and he gained the somewhat erroneous distinction of being the first civilized South American to appear in Europe. He also toured the United States late in the eighteenth century and then touched fire to the revolutionary powder magazine of his own country, Venezuela, thus opening the way for the later exploits of the scarcely less restless Bolívar. His work was primarily that of a catalyzer, being the ferment for a process to be carried through by others.

What Miranda had fought for, in Europe and America, for more than a generation, Bolívar brought to a head in a series of campaigns through half of South America equalled in fact only by those of his great contemporary and rival, San Martín, and in reputation by none. I believe the life and political exploits of Bolívar should never be read without comparing them with those of the equally patriotic and more self-denying San Martín. The indomitable will of Bolívar kept up the struggle against Spain until

at last the Spanish American countries were free to establish governments of their own, which are for the most part still in the process of becoming republican. Miranda and Bolívar differ from the two North American leaders under discussion here not only in that they were more aristocratic and romantic, but also in that they were more adventurers than founders, more set upon independence than upon the establishment of a new social order.

Very different was the ultimate personality of the son of the Boston soap maker, Franklin. So radical in his youth that conservative Boston was too hot for him, he migrated to Philadelphia and completed his preparatory schooling as a journeyman printer in England. But his university was a long life in Philadelphia, where he became first citizen—first in service and chief in wisdom—and perhaps first in the world. It was about 1760 that this amazing Franklin graduated into the wider, but still narrow, world of London, where for ten years he served the interests of none too grateful colonies and perfected himself in the science and philosophy of the age. From London he went to Paris, to be the darling of the great figures of the French enlightenment. Finally he came home to be all but neglected by a younger generation from whom he was separated by nearly twenty years of service abroad. He died, the model of prudence and one of the greatest diplomats and materialistic philosophers of his time.

Jefferson also came in direct contact with the brilliant French civilization, and was the philosophic heir of the eighteenth century political philosophy in both France and England. But above all he was Jefferson, who from youth up had been schooled in austere and candid thinking, educated in the fundamental legal traditions of English liberty by the

brilliant minds at William and Mary, and who was himself later to be the most powerful intellect in America, shaping the Declaration, assisting with the Constitution, working ceaselessly in the early years of the republic for a democracy which would recognize the rights and promote the civilization of the common man and the agricultural worker, and, above all, the inspiriter and dominator of the great southern universities, which before the Civil War stood at the front of American higher education.

These are the stories told in the twenty-five hundred pages of the five excellent biographies whose titles head these paragraphs. All of them are written with spirit and by persons who have gone deep into the fields of research which they present. Much new material is here integrated with respect to all four of the men considered. Fay especially has distinguished his treatment with new facts. The only criticism one need make of his

spirited narrative is that it is sometimes difficult for the reader to distinguish between documented fact and inference. The narrative of Chinard is somewhat more sober, and quite convincing. Robertson writes for the historian and for those with a love for history, and his selection of facts is meticulous. Aldao is a genius at research into the curious ways of men and movements, and his works deserve to be as generously translated as he has translated those of English-writing authors for readers in Argentina. Angell, although less of a seasoned biographer, is saturated with her subject. She handles it with sympathy, but lacks somewhat the wider social insight that especially characterizes the works of Fay and Chinard. All of the volumes are beautifully executed. Their style and conception are such as to adapt them alike to the scholar and the intelligent layman. They are definite and valuable contributions to the origins of the civilization of the present.

THE RISE OF A MACHINE CIVILIZATION

ERICH W. ZIMMERMAN

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A HISTORY OF MECHANICAL INVENTIONS. By Abbott Payson Usher. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929. 401 pp. \$2.25.

Van Loon once said that "the amount of mechanical development will always be in inverse ratio to the number of slaves that happen to be at a country's disposal." While it is doubtful whether sufficient historical evidence is available to prove or disprove this "law," it is quite possible that it holds true in a large number of cases and, therefore, it reflects a vital relationship between the state of the arts and social conditions. The presence of the slave keeps the machine away; the absence of the machine perpetuates slavery

—a vicious cycle. The word slave in this connection does not need to be interpreted in the strictly legal sense. Sociologists are keenly aware of the close interaction between the state of the industrial arts and societal evolution. Under those conditions, it should prove an easy task to convince students of social forces that *A History of Mechanical Inventions* represents an important addition to their fund of resources, all the more so in view of the fact that this book is written by a scholar of the recognized standing of A. P. Usher. If the author had not yet made for himself a name as a thorough scholar, he would have accomplished that end through this

book. Its scholarship is clearly evidenced by the innumerable references to books written in half a dozen languages and in learned but exceptionally well chosen quotations in Latin; but it lies deeper than that. It is found in the thorough penetration into the deepest recesses of the mystery of invention and in an almost uncanny use made of an incredible amount of sources many of which must have been exceptionally inaccessible.

Usher is an economist and a historian. If he plays with myriad details of mathematical science, of clock-making, of pre-Christian pumps, and other heathen devices, it is always with the relationship in mind which these details hold to large historical trends. In a way, this book is not an end in itself but a preparatory effort which leads to the realization of a major purpose. This ulterior aim is to lay bare the part which engineers, scientists, inventors, and their like have played in the course of human history. Usher sees in such a revelation an antidote to unwarranted and one-sided determinism. Particularly he directs his effort against the tendency on the part of many historians to explain major trends in history by one-sided emphasis upon geographical facts. To be sure, there is a close interrelation between the geographical environment and the development of the state of the arts, but that interaction is not altogether unilateral and, by no means excludes the capacity of the arts, in their turn, to function as a major force in the making of history. Usher is wise when he limits his analysis to mechanical inventions. Undue expansion is the enemy of fruitful intensity.

The book must have a wide appeal in this mechanistic age. Nowadays one can hardly escape at least a rudimentary knowledge of mechanics. It is fascinating, therefore, to follow Usher on his voyage into the past, as he traces to their

origin the various elements of which our complex machine apparatus consists. The book is loaded with interesting stories. One of these is the account of Leonardo da Vinci's contributions to almost every field of science. German research work has revealed him as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, contributor to the world's stock of useful knowledge and inventions. Usher gives two pages in close print showing the "extent of explicit contributions of Leonardo" which were formerly attributed to other inventors. Such men as Cardan, Fourneyron, Cellini, Pascal, Galileo, and Dürer must yield some of their honors to this unique genius. Another extremely interesting detail is the account of the invention of the steam engine by James Watt. Also Edison's discovery of carbon as an element adapted to the use as filament in incandescent lamps deserves special interest.

After carefully scrutinizing innumerable events in the history of inventions Usher comes to the conclusion that the art of invention which is commonly attributed to genius—some inexplicable manifestation of super-human intelligence—is in reality nothing more than a logical extension or intensification of ordinary thinking processes. If that conclusion is borne out by further studies, it has stupendous significance for the sociologist. It means that it is possible to harness the inventive process and subject it to the conscious will of foreseeing man. If, as some people claim, foresight is the criterion of civilization, such conscious control should help to promote civilization. Necessity no longer would have to be the mother of invention. Inventions could be made in anticipation of coming needs. When viewed in that light a clear understanding of the inventive process becomes a prerequisite of social control, and *A History of Mechanical Invention* is a valuable contribution to such an understanding.

THE COUNTY AS A GOVERNMENTAL UNIT

PAUL W. WAGER

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COUNTY GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. By John A. Fairlie and Charles M. Kneier. New York: The Century Company, 1930. 585 pp. \$4.00.

This is the book that all students of county government have been waiting for. Professor Fairlie's book on *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages*, published in 1906, was a pioneer in its field. Since then other general works have appeared, but none has been an improvement in style or content. Professor Fairlie's book has remained the accepted authority in county government. Naturally some of his facts became out of date, hence the new volume. It is not a revision; it is a completely new volume, broader in scope and richer in illustration than the first book. No field of government has witnessed greater changes in twenty-five years than county government, and Dr. Fairlie has recognized this fact. Although the volume is designed to be descriptive rather than interpretative, the reader is made to see the reasons for the changes which have taken place. In the preparation of the new volume Professor Fairlie has had the able assistance of Professor Charles M. Kneier, a former student and now an authority himself on local government.

The book is divided into five parts. The first part is devoted to the historical development of the county. It describes the English origins of our local institutions and local government in the American colonies and during the early period of statehood. Although sketchy, the treatment furnishes an adequate background for an understanding of contemporary institutions.

The second part is concerned with county and state relations. The chapter on the legal nature and status of the county is the first careful and exhaustive treatment of this phase of the subject that has appeared. There are no less than 135 references to citations. The next chapter on the Constitutional Provisions and Powers of the County is the result of a thorough combing of every state constitution and is an illuminating summary. A chapter on Judicial and Administrative Control is also footnoted with scores of legal references.

Part III consists of five chapters describing the organization of county government. To ascertain and compile the variations in each county office in forty-eight states must have been a laborious task and all students of county government are indebted to the authors for performing this service. The reviewer finds some misstatements in respect to North Carolina and so there may be erroneous statements in respect to other states, but such can be excused. It would have been quite impossible to keep the information revised up to the hour of publication. The wonder is that the authors could do as well as they did with constant changes going on in 3,000 counties.

The next part is devoted to an analysis and discussion of the various phases of administration. There is a chapter on each of the following subjects: justice, corrections and charities, health, education, highways, revenue, and expenditures. Each analysis is rich in illustration but the authors are very cautious about making recommendations. Their method is rather to point out the states whose

practices seem to be worthy of emulation. Administration is manifestly more difficult to describe than organization. Practice does not always measure up to the legal specifications; it may even run counter to the law. The authors have drawn on official reports and on the reports of other investigators. In fact they seem to have drawn on nearly every source available to get a true picture of administration in the counties of the several states. But they would undoubtedly agree that their general and composite picture should be supplemented by state studies based on first hand observation.

The final section of the book, entitled "Special Problems," describes the government of New England towns, townships, special districts, villages, boroughs and towns, and metropolitan areas; and discusses the relation of these units to the county.

There is an exhaustive and well classified bibliography, an index of legal cases referred to, and a general index. Every chapter in the book is well, almost profusely, documented.

It is not enough to say that the book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on county government. It is the only up-to-date general work on the subject; it supplies a very real need; and it is fortunate that it is the product of two such thorough and scholarly investigators. The book is absolutely free from dogma and only rarely is a recommendation made. The authors have recognized that they are not filling the rôle of reformers; they are teachers describing the place of the county in our modern political structure and the importance and complexity of county administration in the field of public service.

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L. L. BERNARD

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I

The second volume of Uzcategui's *History of Ecuador* for elementary classes justifies the promise of the first. It covers the period of national independence and carries numerous photographs of the distinguished men of the country and of public buildings. It also contains the national hymn with music. Of course it is highly patriotic, for national self-feeling is one of the things that must be stimulated still in South America. How much better it would be if our teachers of Spanish used such interesting simple

books as this for reading handbooks. A very solid and mature work is Basadre's *Beginnings of the Republic* (Peru). The author is professor of historical investigation in the University of Lima and is a master at his craft. He brings to his study of the origins of Peruvian nationalism a good knowledge of the other social sciences, especially of sociology and social psychology, which are much more appreciated by historians of Latin America than here. The historical and chronological character of the narrative is not lost, but the chief emphasis after all is upon interpretation. Data, while not disregarded, are a means to an end. The smoothness and eloquence of the narrative have in them something of the flavor of Macaulay.

The Academy of History of Cuba has reprinted Morell de Santa Cruz' great colonial *History*, so rich in personal incident and graphic portraiture of the early life, problems, and personalities of colonial Cuba. This is but one of the many important labors of the Academy in perpetuating the distinguished culture of the island. Besides the intrinsic interest of the narrative, it is one of the most valuable colonial sociological documents. The editor, Dr. F. de P. Coronado, has prefaced the text with a valuable critical and historical essay on the author and his work. A sensation was created something more than a year ago by Dr. Ulloa's startling contention that Columbus made an earlier voyage than that of 1492 to America in fact as early as 1477. The intense nationalism of the Catalonians in Spain is well known everywhere, so it is not surprising that *The Prediscovery of America* claims that Columbus was a Catalan and not a Genoese. The book is well documented and the argument is ingenious, and who in this day of wonders will say it is not true, discovery and all?

There are maps and stray bits, perhaps of records, and some by-play on names, in the approved style of the age. Manuel Ugarte adds the prestige of his name as sponsor to Latin-American readers.

II

The Memorial Book is a richly illustrated story of the Cuban revolutions, with particular emphasis upon the last, which gave the island its freedom from Spain. The dedication of the Plaza of the Maine affords the occasion for the playing up of the part taken by the United States in this final conflict. The book is printed in parallel columns in Spanish and English, and is very attractive and patriotic. Vázquez Bello's addresses on *Politics, Truth and Patriotism* constitute an appeal to the youth by a young political leader for greater consecration and patriotic integrity in politics. Incidentally some leading politico-social questions of Cuba are briefly discussed.

The *Mexican Civic Calendar* is an ingenious and worthy piece of civic propaganda, probably promoted by J. M. Puig Casauranc. It is distributed free by the government of the Federal District. It has the appearance of a school tablet and contains about 100 detachable pages. The calendar is presented by weeks and at the bottom of each calendar sheet is a brief quotation, over the author's name, teaching some good lessons of mental, moral, of civic hygiene. Interlarded between the calendar sheets are pages bearing good drawings in the manner of modern Mexican art, followed by an explanatory quotation or statement, both teaching some civic lesson or featuring some principle or personality of the revolution. The whole get up is very effective. The *Atlas of the Federal District*, also prepared under the direction of Puig Casauranc, chief of the department, is not a series of

maps, but a very expensively illustrated description of the geography, history, government and business interests of this district. The public buildings of the present day city are attractively presented and there are numerous airplane views of the city and of the surrounding region.

III

Turning now from history and reminiscence, we come to social psychology and a sort of philosophy of history. It is fitting that Basadre should introduce this section with his brilliant panoramic sketch of Peruvian civilization, *The Multitude, the City and the Country in the History of Peru*. The author traces life and endeavor, culture and circumstance, society and the individual from the day of the Incas through the conquest and the colony to independence and the modern nation, now being born psychologically and sociologically. Professedly he prefers effective, incisive analysis to belabored academic formalism; and we are glad he does, for he gives us a clear, fascinating and sympathetic picture of the development of the culture of modern Peru fit to serve as an introduction to the more rigorously academic history, the first volume of which was noticed above. But even in this volume the author does not forget to be scholarly; the scope of his interests are merely broader and he is more human. More poetical, even somewhat romantic, is Romero's *Three Cities of Peru*—Cuzco, Lima, and Puno. For one who does not know this land as the native knows it, these essays on the people, the mountains, the picturesque customs, and the folklore of the three great divisions of Peru, separated as they are, by mountains and even by traditions, but united into a modern nation, are nothing less than fascinating. The book is more than geography or poetry, more than sociology.

It is an interpretation of the life of a people.

Lopez de Mesa's two books—*Introduction to the History of Culture in Colombia* and *Contemporary Civilization*—are more academic, but still they retain the freedom of the essay. The former in particular is somewhat sketchy, but comprises a penetrating series of running comments upon the men and events most prominent in the development of ideas and institutions in Colombia. Like most South Americans, the author sees pretty clearly the major limiting factors inhibiting the maximum development of their civilization. The scope of the book is sufficiently broad as to include a summary of the philosophic orientations of Latin America, and there is a useful bibliography of pertinent Colombian books and authors. The *Contemporary Civilization* is in reality a brief treatise on the psychology and ecology of urban and rural life, the problems of the family, democracy, capitalism, socialism, the press, and political parties, with probable trends in the future development of these institutions. The author's viewpoint is modern and thoroughly functional. His books offer valuable insight into the culture of a country but poorly known to even the well-informed in the United States.

IV

Carlos Wyld Ospina has produced a brilliant study in social politics in his *Autocracy*. The central theme is the influence of the alliance between capitalism and political bossism, which has produced economic feudalism in Guatemala and in practically all Central America. Interwoven with an outline sketch of the political and social history of Guatemala are keen analyses of the chief bosses of the country and a detailed account of developments, particularly

since 1911. The distinguished Catalan, Francisco Cambó's *The Dictatorships* is a similar study in political sociology, but from the psychological and economic rather than from the historical standpoint. All the world—industry, finance, communication, the press, even art—tends toward concentration, and dictatorships rather than democracies, he thinks. Only in a few countries—e.g., the United States, Germany and France—have the people continued to manage their own affairs and in most of these countries socialism has made much greater gains than in Russia the professed land of communism. The various dictatorships are analyzed politically and socially and the sociological principles basic to them are discussed in detail. This is a book of very considerable importance.

V

Cambó's volume, *In Behalf of Concord*, refers to the healing of the historic discord between Spain and Catalonia. After 25 years of restiveness on the part of the Catalonians, who clung to their nationality and developed their industries and cordially disliked the Spanish government, there has been in recent years an increasing accommodation, due to a more flexible policy at Madrid. The story of the struggle of Catalonia for spiritual independence is a most interesting one. The author closes with a patriotic, if somewhat visionary, chapter calling for a united Iberic peninsula, including the merger of Portugal, as of Catalonia, with the fortunes of Spain, in order to raise the united country to first rank among European powers.

Attendants at the summer school in Mexico City are familiar with J. M. Puig Casauranc, the able Mexican minister of education and journalist. *Our Mexico*

consists largely of intimate, sometimes homely, but always interesting editorial essays intended to inspire the Mexican reading classes to make the best of intellectual, social, and economic advantages that the revolution in the hands of Calles and other patriots is bringing them. There are a dozen longer articles—addresses—dealing with fundamental political and educational themes, always in the suave but virile manner of the author. *Old Pages and New Ideas* is really two volumes. The first part is devoted entirely to addresses dealing with the more traditional and artistic phases of culture, and reveals interestingly the author's deep sympathy with the fine arts, but always from the standpoint of a clear realism. The second part comes back to his favorite themes, education and politics. The addresses in this volume evidence perhaps greater maturity and more sustained profundity. Together the two volumes offer a fair picture of the cultural problems of contemporary Mexico, stated constructively and without partisan rancor. Very similar volumes are those by Dr. Pérez Colman, the Argentine Minister of finance. *The Great Priesthood and Other Pages* is concerned first with the function of education in the republic, the selection of teachers and freedom of teaching. From this it turns to the relation of the individual to the nation, with the Jews settled in Argentina as a case in point. There is also a considerable discussion of liberal politics and parties and of labor programs, for the author is a liberal. Finally, he discusses patriotism, the psychological processes involved in stimulating it and the lives of leading Argentine patriots. *Love of Country* is cast in a much lighter vein, but deals with similar subjects. In this volume also appears the typical Latin-American distrust of the United States and an appeal

for Latin-American union, at least in sentiment, to be cultivated in the youth by their teachers. There is an interesting chapter on immigration which shows that Argentine officials are at last beginning to realize its dangers.

Benvenuto's *Concreciones* is more clever, if less sustained and less constructive, and displays the acid of the critic without the inhibitions of the official. It consists of three parts, the first and the best (Ideas) being the author's intellectual reaction to a visit to the Sorbonne and travels in Europe. The second (Action) is a running fire upon the cultural autocracy of Vaz Ferreira the rector of the University of Uruguay, the socialist and reform movement, which he regards as too tame for active revolt, and the youth movement. The last part is concerned with literary criticism. Modernism and radicalism are decidedly vocal in Latin America and some of its aspects can be viewed interestingly through these pages.

VI

A great work in human or social geography is Emilio Romero's *Department of Puno* (Peru). The South Americans have always been interested in geography, and this work is one of the ablest and most modern treatises in regional geography in any language. It begins with the historical geography of the region, passes to the physical and the biological geographies, and closes with some 250 pages on the political and economic geography of the district. In this division agriculture is especially considered. The archeology, anthropology, ethnology, and sociology of the people are not neglected. While the work is mainly descriptive, there is also much quantitative and statistical material. It is well illustrated. Perhaps the maps are not on a par with the other

materials. The *French-American Annual* is a handbook for travelers and salesmen and contains more than 150 pages of geographical, historical, economic, political, and sociological material regarding the various Latin American republics.

The two bulletins by Dr. Guerrero, director of the Census of Costa Rica, contain valuable materials for the social scientist. The *Population* merely lists the population in the 1927 by provinces, districts, cantons, and cities. The *Vital Statistics* gives the birth, marriage, and death statistics over considerable periods of years, with a special statistical treatment of infant mortality. The birth rate in San José has remained practically constant at more than 40 from 1906 to 1925, while the death rate has dropped in the same period from 28 to 21.7. The infant mortality has remained practically constant, just under 200, with annual variations. There are some good charts.

Santo Domingo, like the rest of us, has its immigration problem, and L. F. Vidal has characterized it as both industrial and racial in his *Notes on Immigration*. The leaders of the republic desire white immigrants, but the decay of agriculture, he thinks, renders discrimination against the colored unwise. As in the other Antilles the problem of sugar is central in national economy.

VII

The three booklets by Dr. Bello, president of the Cuban Congress, concentrate largely upon this very theme of sugar. In the two works discussing his proyectos de ley or bills before Congress he points out that the sugar industry as such can no longer hope to compete with this industry in other American countries on their own soil. It is necessary, therefore, to look forward to the development of

diversified agriculture (now much in eclipse in Cuba) on the one hand and to the development of industries supplementary to that of sugar on the other hand. For this reason he would have the state increase the acreage and encourage small holdings by developing irrigation, and stimulate the manufacture of fertilizer from the by products of the sugar industry. He also figures that the surplus cane products can be utilized in the manufacture of alcohol which can be produced more cheaply per power unit than petroleum can be imported. His *Alcohol Industry* is an interesting discussion of this point. He would also provide for a modification of rental contracts with the large landholders which would be fairer to the small cultivator, now at a great economic disadvantage. These three brief treatises are highly informative.

It is not possible to discuss here in detail the six booklets issued by the Argentine Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Production, but the first of these—Coni's *Truths and Fallacies of Cooperation*—has decided general interest for social scientists. He contrasts the success of cooperation in Anglo-Saxon countries with that in Latin countries to the disadvantage of the latter. The former do and the latter talk, he says. The author is a leading rural economist in Argentina and he has studied the literature and practice of cooperation of all of the leading countries. His discussion is worthy of attention anywhere.

Spain, although not a combatant in the late war, is also having her money troubles. The value of the peseta declines, although slowly. The inevitable economic and social consequences threaten to become also political, and the question of stabilization is to the fore. F. Cambó, whose work in the field of political sociol-

ogy has already been discussed in this review, makes a worthy popular presentation of the problems involved in his *Stabilization of the Peseta*.

VIII

Public law has always been a major interest in Latin America. Political instability and the necessity of the political education of the people have made it so. The veteran Argentine scholar and dean, and one time candidate for president to succeed the radical Irigoyen, Norberto Piñero has, as it were, set forth his political creed in his *Politics*, which is the most personal of all his works in the academic field. Piñero belongs to that group of scholars who have during the last forty years done so much to stabilize Argentine society by their teaching, research, and participation in public affairs. In few countries, if any, does the man of science have more to do with shaping the course of events. In this volume the author traces the development of the constitution and of political democracy in his country and evaluates changes and trends. He includes also some of his political addresses.

Carlos Aldao is perhaps the closest intellectual bond between English speaking and Argentine scholarship in political science and history. He has translated numerous English books into the Spanish. His *Errors of the National Constitution* is a group of historical and constitutional essays centering around the development of Argentine political institutions. No man is more familiar with the social backgrounds of his subject, and his treatment of the early dictatorships is most interesting as well as scholarly. Aldao is one of the best students and users of documents in Argentina. He also has courage and criticizes weaknesses and

points out needed improvements. His comment on personalities, including Roosevelt, are always to the point. The Argentine constitution is reprinted. Gil's *Provincial Autonomy* is a specialized historical and analytical treatment of the development of the constitutional powers and political practices of the Argentine provinces (states). The book is well documented and the study of sources has been most detailed. As a doctor's thesis it is the equal of the best of its kind in our universities. There is a good working bibliography.

Guerra's *The Constitution of 1925* is devoted primarily to an analysis and exposition of that famous Chilean document. The author is professor of the philosophy of law in the University of Chile and brings to his task a profound knowledge of the principles and criticism of public law. The analysis takes the form of a comparison with the numerous earlier constitutions of Chile as well as with the constitutions of other countries and the comments of leading scholars thereon. While this work is for the specialist rather than for the layman it constitutes an able contribution to the field of public law and juridical theory. There is an excellent bibliography covering the leading South American countries.

IX

A classic in its field is the late Senator Justo's *In the United States*. This distinguished Argentine statesman and publicist visited our country in 1895, long before he became an international figure. His comments on our economic, educational, religious, domestic and ethical institutions are clear cut and just to a surprising degree. He foresaw quite accurately many of the later developments. He had the power of being concise and frank without bitterness. This little book is a document

which deserves often to be reprinted and to live.

The *Philosophy of Supernationalism* by the Peruvian professor, Victor J. Guevara, is a sequel to his earlier much commented work, *Toward Indo-Latina*. The author is an ardent exponent of a cultural internationalism and he believes that the best way to approach it is through an international control over news service, thus preventing misrepresentation and the stimulation of international antagonisms by means of propaganda. He is keen enough to see that the greatest hope of making such a plan a success lies in the youth movements, which are strong in Latin America, and to these he makes his appeal. The book is refreshing and fundamental. Like many other Latin Americans, the author greatly mistrusts the United States (p. 224).

Argentine International Politics, by Norberto Piñero, has the orderliness and logical completeness of a text book, but is constructed along lines to appeal to the general reader. Like most social science treatises in Latin America, it adopts the historical method of presentation and assumes a more or less sociological interpretation. The relations of the republic with the United States from the date of the independence of the former to the present time receives very considerable space and would interest North American readers. A long final chapter discusses the present international problems of Argentina, her relation to the Pan-American Union and to the League of Nations.

The two works by former president Henríquez i Carvajal of Santo Domingo—*Nationalism* and *Selected Pages*—lack the unity and high equal level of merit of Piñero's volume, but in some respects they are even more interesting to our readers. They are pieced together from important

state papers, press articles, addresses delivered in various parts of Latin America, and from reviews of books, which together constitute a collection of vastly important documents for the historian, political scientist, and sociologist. Since the author's administration was in the storm center of United States intervention there is naturally much material on this matter from the Santo Dominican point of view. There are, however, quieter pieces from the pen of the author when he was a professor and these include an article on the chief of Porto Rican sociologists, de Hostos.

From Helmet to Cap of Freedom, by Gonzalo Quesada, son of the distinguished Cuban diplomat, is a vivid portrayal of the great war as he saw it in Germany. What he saw was sufficient to lead him to characterize von Moltke's statement that peace is but a dream and not even a beautiful dream as blasphemy. The picture he presents certainly can offer but little to support war. There cannot be too many documents of this kind—at once interesting and dramatic—to quicken the memories of future generations.

X

The *Works* of Méndez Capote (father of the author of *Cuban Oratory*, previously noticed in these pages) deal principally with such subjects as legal competency, trade marks and patents, and the Cuban penal code, but there are also interesting sketches of Estrada Palma, the generals Gómez and Martí. There are several essays dealing with the revolution, the Platt Amendment, and other political topics. The political and biographical essays, which are the incidental output of this Cuban legislator, are collected in the first volume, while the legal cases and discussions occupy the second volume.

Dr. Tejera, the leading Cuban writer on

sociological jurisprudence, makes an excursion into ancient Hindu legal ethics in his review of the *Institute of Hindu Law* by Manava-Dharma-Sastra, produced about 3500 years ago. He finds that this ancient jurist recognized the social evil of gambling, including cock fighting, and the like, and urged the duty of the state to penalize such practices. The three monographs by Judge Oxamendi, another distinguished sociological jurist of Cuba, declare strongly for a scientific law which will meet the needs of our times, especially in the matter of a reformed procedure (*La Funcion Jurisdiccional*). He argues for a greater creative rôle for legal procedure, which he considers the guarantee of the liberty and interests of the individual (*Philosophy of Legal Procedure*), and discusses the sources and interpretation of the law ("El Pretor Romano"). All these works evidence close familiarity with the ideas of the great jurists as well as with Cuban law.

NORTH CAROLINA: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL. By S. H. Hobbs, Jr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 403 pp. \$3.50.

A new sort of book, this volume is a compendium of knowledge on the State of North Carolina. It is an example of regional sociology. It is a text book on the natural resources, economic enterprises, and social conditions of a state. In a way, it is an ecological study, because it presents data which range all the way from such physiographic factors as soil and climate, to population and social institutions. There are no strained ecological conclusions drawn but a careful study of the elaborate data presented reveals clearly the relationships which exist between such factors as natural resources and both population and standards of living.

This book contains practically nothing which could be called theory. It is not

controversial and not calculated to arouse controversy, unless from Chambers of Commerce and similar bodies which prefer not to look at handicaps and problems along with potentialities and accomplishments. The State of North Carolina has been widely advertised during the last decade. This book explodes a number of fallacies promoted by some statements and inferences contained in some of the advertising. On the other side of the ledger it brings together a comprehensive and faithful picture of the numerous physical and human resources of the state. The chapter headings aptly reveal the contents of the volume. They are: I. Physical Resources of North Carolina: Land, Soils, Climate, Forests. II. Physical Resources: Water Power and Minerals. III. Physical Resources: Resorts, Fishing, and Hunting. IV. Population Composition and Characteristics. V. Physical and Social-Economic Areas. VI. North Carolina as an Agricultural State. VII. Farm Tenancy. VIII. Industry in North Carolina. IX. Financial Institutions. X. Transportation and Communication. XI. Wealth, Debt, and Taxation. XII. Ruralism and Urbanization. XIII. State Government. XIV. County Government in North Carolina. XV. Public Education. XVI. Illiteracy and Reading Habits. XVII. Public Health and Health Work. XVIII. Public Welfare in North Carolina.

There are 35 maps and charts and 68 short tables of statistics in the main body of the book, and 54 long tables of statistics in the appendix. The reader can turn to the data presented in these 147 tables, charts, and maps almost as he could to an encyclopedia and obtain more complete information than has probably ever been compiled in a single volume on a single state.

The references cited at the end of chapters furnishes what is probably the most complete selected bibliography that can be found in any one publication on a single state. To persons interested in drawing what Doctor Hobbs calls a "base line" for a state the outline, procedure, and materials of this volume will be of enormous value. For persons who seek to be intelligent students of North Carolina it is indispensable.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

*North Carolina State College of
Agriculture and Engineering.*

AN AUDIT OF AMERICA. By Edward E. Hunt. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1930. 203 pp. \$2.00.

This is a very skillfully prepared summary of the report on "Recent Economic Changes in the United States," which was published in two volumes one year ago, the work of the Hoover Committee, conducted by Dr. Wesley Mitchell, who pronounces this volume a most skillful condensation—"One which will make it possible for thousands who have not time to read the full report to get the gist of the findings." The detailed and statistical studies of the two large volumes are here reduced to one small readable book, giving a fine summary of the changes that have taken place in this country in recent years in the processes and means of production and transportation and in all matters that relate to the production and exchange of goods, including reference to wages and standards of living as well as credit, financing, and other important business elements in our economic structure. The study covers those years following the war, during which prosperity was unparalleled in this country, and concludes just before the present depression began. It found our producing power had increased

almost four times as rapidly as the population and that our ability to consume had kept pace, the whole financial structure has been readjusted, credit was more available, and a better balance had been struck between production, distribution, and the financial handling of goods. Some basic commodities like those of agriculture and coal had not been included in the improvement. Vast accumulation in saving and in credit facilities resulted in a swollen volume of stock buying and speculation, which in turn brought on the sudden crash which came just after the work of the Committee was concluded.

During the period there was an enormous increase in expenditures for charity, education, and public welfare. The notion that peace in industrial relations and high wages pay better took hold as never before. Standards of living went up, we ate more dairy products, vegetables and fruits, and less meat and cereal. There was a great increase in the building of homes, in radios and telephones and automobiles; "mass consumption" was promoted to absorb the greater output of mass production; chain-stores grew in numbers; installment buying became phenomenal.

Prosperity was "spotted;" there were depressions and unemployment in 1921 and in 1927; this one makes three depressions in a decade of unexampled national prosperity. What would have happened but for the Federal Reserve system? The author urges better balancing between production and consumption, more scientific research and control and less speculation. We would like to know what effect billions of installment buying had upon the balance, speculation, and overproduction.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Vanderbilt University.

POPULATION. By Corrado Gini, Shiroshi Nasu, Oliver E. Baker, and Robert R. Kuczynski. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. ix + 312 pp. \$3.00.

The book under review contains the lectures on the Harris Foundation, delivered during the sixth institute, held from June 17 to June 28, 1929, at the University of Chicago.

In his three lectures on "The Cyclical Rise and Fall of Population," Gini discusses "The Evolution of Nations," "The Death of Nations," and "The Birth and Revival of Nations." He says there are two theories of population: (1) *Theory of geometrical increase of population*; and (2) *theory of cyclical rise and fall of population*. Gini is a firm supporter of the latter. He thinks that families, and nations ("groups of men having a personality not only from a political and cultural but also from a biological aspect"), follow a parabola. There is a beginning and rapid growth, decline and death, rebirth and revival of nations. Somehow the mysterious parabola becomes the mythical cycle.

According to Gini it is a delusion to try to improve the race by artificially stimulating the fertility of the upper classes because the lower birth rate is due to the "fact that the urge of genetic instincts has ceased," rather than to Neo-Malthusian practices. Nations, he thinks, die either by violent or natural deaths, but deaths may be averted by the injection of the blood of younger races into the older races. Heredity is by Mendelian laws, and nations become great because of the amalgamation of races rather than by a fusion of cultures.

Through the three lectures there is little indication that Gini is acquainted with the more recent theories of heredity and psychology, and there is an almost complete ignorance of the social factors in-

volved. Indeed, Gini impresses one as being a propagandist rather than a scientist. His statement: "I have been, and I am, a convinced supporter of the theory of the cyclical rise and fall of population, and for the past twenty years and more I have tried to collect facts and arguments in its support" (p. 4), indicates his attitude. Professor Wolfe's statement regarding Pearl's theory seems appropriate here. "It is too far a cry from fruit flies in a jar to human beings who have had a taste of rational self-direction. There is an implied fatalism in statistical curves—a fatalism unjustified by the underlying facts. We are likely to forget the human motives which lie back of the phenomena summarized in our logarithmic charts. The future trend of the curve can be predicted only if we know these motives and the future changes which they are likely to undergo. But psychological factors are not always predictable. Herein lay the defect of Malthus' analysis. Herein also lies a great defect of current population literature." (Dublin, L. I., (Editor) *Population Problems in the United States and Canada*, p. 75.)

In his three lectures on "Population and the Food Supply," Professor Nasu gives us sane, logical discussions of "The Standard of Living and the Population Problem," "Population Problems of the East and West," and "Can Japan Solve Her Population Problem?"

In "The Trend of Agricultural Production in North America and Its Relation to Europe and Asia," Baker presents much of the factual material contained in his other writings, especially in the "Changes in Production and Consumption of Our Farm Products and the Trends in Population"—an address before the Agriculture Extension Conference, University of Minnesota, December 13 and 14, *Annals*, CXLII, March 1929, pp. 97-146.

Kuczynski, in his lecture on "The World's Future Population," rehashes his same theory found in his article on "The World's Population" in *Foreign Affairs*, October 1928 and his little book, *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, 1928; that is, that people projecting population growth have failed to consider that the number of women of child-bearing age is constantly decreasing.

On the whole the book presents little, if anything, that is new to students of population problems. The lectures by Nasu and Baker, however, should be of interest to the layman.

H. G. DUNCAN.

University of New Hampshire.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES. By Manuel Gamio. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 262 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Gamio is one of the most scholarly of the modern leaders in Mexico and is noted as anthropologist, sociologist, and educator. The Social Science Research Council made this study of Mexican immigration to the United States possible, and the author spent two years, with a staff of investigators, carrying it through. It is the most authoritative study yet made of the problem, and Dr. Gamio's conclusions should be well weighed on both sides the border. While accurate statistics are not obtainable and there is much going and coming, both lawful and unlawful, he concludes that at all times a half-million Mexicans are found on this side the Rio Grande. They are for the most part laborers and are now penetrating far north. They cling to the memory of their native land and sooner or later return. They do not, as a rule, take out citizenship papers. One of the revelations of the book is that of articles they take back to Mexico, notable among which are bath tubs, kitchen utensils, stoves, wash-

ing machines, beds, sewing machines, refrigerators, tools, farm machinery, autos, domestic animals, furniture, etc., the government wisely permitting all such goods to enter without tariff. A striking fact is that most of this immigration comes from the richest sections of Mexico; this is because of the holding of the richer lands in great estates. They work for less here than do our people but perform casual, intermittent, and common labor where they do not come greatly into conflict with the American working man. At home the color line is not known, the cleavages being cultural and economic rather than those of color. In this country he immediately begins to feel the pressure of the color prejudice with the result that he becomes a segregated group not assimilating with the American community. This condition is aggravated by the intolerance and narrowness of the priests of his church. Dr. Gamio thinks such cultural segregation is not healthy for either group and advocates temporary immigration permitting the laborers to do the work for which they are needed and then to return, taking with them something of our better standards of living; he would have permanent immigration put on the quota as it is with other countries. There is, we believe, more wisdom in these proposals than in the Box bill. Mexico is our nearest neighbor and her people are making a brave effort to establish free government and improve their standards of living. If we consider their welfare as well as our own, we will consider their stake in the problem as well as our own.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Vanderbilt University.

THE GENETICAL THEORY OF NATURAL SELECTION. By R. A. Fisher. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. 268 pp. \$6.00.

Modern biology no longer conceives of natural selection as a causative agent in evolutionary advance, but simply as a sieve which picks out the successful survivors in a given environment. This viewpoint is altogether in line with the author's mathematical treatment of it as an independent principle, one phase of whose operation we see in the evolutionary process, but where its application in the past has largely concealed its real universality. Chapters on the fundamental theorem of natural selection, evolution of dominance, variation, sexual reproduction and selection prepare us for the second half of the book, where the author considers the sociological aspects of his theory. Here fertility and reproduction in relation to the conditions for a permanent civilization constitute the central theme.

Human societies from very early times have adopted an economic system for individualizing property, which might have been expected to control intra-communal selection along socially advantageous lines. However, the logical effects have not been realized, largely because of the inversion of the birth rate. This has been the consequence of (1) the inheritance of the physical and psychological characters determining reproduction; (2) the social promotion of the less fertile. Thus the higher birth rate among the poor is increasing and this difference even extends to the bottom of the social scale as seen by the contrasting birth rates of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. Various theories which have sought in wealth a cause of infertility have missed the point that infertility is an important cause of wealth. These causes must have been operative in the most ancient civilizations, the same causes acting upon each conquering people in

turn. At the other extreme, among certain uncivilized peoples characterized by a tribal organization, etc., the more eminent are certainly the more fertile, and here the effects of natural selection are greatly enhanced by social and sexual selection. The group of qualities understood by these barbarian peoples as associated with heroism, has been developed considerably beyond the optimum of individual advantage.

On the basis of such facts, the author shows that a redistribution of births would be attended by economic advantages, for a moderate social promotion of fertility is not incompatible with the economic organization of our civilization. The system of family allowances adopted in France is considered inadequate to preserve the higher level of intellectual ability. A permanent civilization might be established on a more complete system. Only a people capable of deliberate and intentional policy can hope to solve the problem of existing population, graded both in social ability and ineffective fertility.

N. M. GRIER.

Wagner College.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF KING'S COLLEGE: HIS CAREER AND WRITINGS. Edited by Herbert and Carol Schneider, with a foreward by Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. 4 vols., xvii + 526, viii + 603, ix + 641, viii + 397 pp. \$30.00.

This is a magnificent memorial to the first president of what is now Columbia University, and it is a pity that the United States government will not do as much or more for a score of its most illustrious sons, including Jefferson, Franklin, the Adamses, John Taylor, Calhoun, Webster, etc. The first volume is devoted to biography and includes an autobiography of about fifty pages which throws much light upon New England thought in the

first half of the eighteenth century. Nearly four hundred pages of letters are almost as interesting and perhaps equally valuable to the historian and the social psychologist. Johnson was pretty much of a formalist and a conservative, but of respectable ability in a plodding courtly way, and he was connected with some of the most distinguished men of his time. He read practically a book a week (our book a month clubs have underestimated human endurance) and some of them were as heavy as lead. The editors have done the researchers an inestimable service in reproducing Dr. Johnson's methodical lists of his reading achievements by author and title, no matter what the book-hating critics may say.

The second volume contains the philosophical correspondence of Dr. Johnson and various philosophic manuscripts outlining his theory of the organization of knowledge, a brief treatise on logic, his *Elementa Philosophica*, and various other manuscripts and notes, together with a documentary summary illustrating the growth of the doctor's Introduction to Philosophy. The whole volume is elucidated by a twenty page introduction to "The Mind of Samuel Johnson" by the male member of the editorial staff.

Volume three turns from pure philosophy to theology and should be of great interest to the devout (for Dr. Johnson was meticulously devout) and to curious social psychologists who delight in unraveling the involution of personalities. Here are many sermons, some of them dealing with popular wisdom, practical living, and the logic of this everyday world. Others dip into transcendental logic and even into as much personality analysis as was lawful to the godly of that day. There are also various manuscripts and letters, some of them polemical, three of which are addressed to unfortu-

nate dissenters. There are three letters on the sovereignty of God, who appears to have enjoyed all of the rights of the English king. And finally there are a creed, a catechism, two prayer collects, and two minor treatises on divinity. It is a sad fact that the doctor never became a bishop, although he abandoned the Presbyterian faith early in his career and often reminded the good bishop of London of the desirability of appointing a bishop for the colonies.

The last volume contains the documents relative to the founding of King's College. Here are the letters and the documentary record of the controversy, setting forth the stubborn and indelicate demands of the dissenting clergy of New York that the college should not be bound by creed. But the sturdy doctor would have none of this heresy, and dogma triumphed. Here also are the documents of the early history of the college, a list of benefactors, and a detailed record of the college's academic rites and rituals. It is an imposing record, for which we cannot too much thank the modern Columbia University. But *why* did they print only 500 copies, from type? The supply must have been exhausted almost immediately.

L. L. BERNARD.

Washington University.

TENTS OF THE MIGHTY. By Donald Richberg. Foreward by Paul U. Kellogg. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby, 1930. \$2.50.

Donald Richberg, lawyer, author, song writer, has gone back a generation in his files and has pulled out letters and memoranda that he has put together in a personal readable account of his own aggressive idealism. It is the story of the Progressive movement largely, starting with a picture of flaming youth in 1902 and moving quickly into a pageant of leaders including Roosevelt, Newton

Baker, Michelson, Insull, Jane Addams, LaFollette, Bryan, Darrow. The personal glimpses, the illuminating snatches from behind the scenes make these thirty years, familiar in outline, vivid with appreciation of the exchanges between these "mighty" men, and with the interpretation of an enthusiast who was part of the drama. The nobility, as well as the pettiness of well known characters, is revealed in this intimate review, and likewise there shows in this tale, as in no formal document, the stress and struggle of social forces and some of the reprehensible means utilized by prominent and respected citizens to coerce government bodies and retain economic advantages.

The changes in the form which the struggle for democracy took in the period of this generation have been the focal points for Richberg's questioning as to what is progress. He started with political issues and political moralities as they were revealed in law practice and the experiences of public office. He learned early that "a strict enforcement of the revenue laws of Illinois (and many other states) would have outrageous consequences;" that "nobody really wants the taxation laws enforced" and as a result much government is by favor instead of law. He observed that "some little fellow was always made a scapegoat whenever big fellows were caught in crookedness." From this realism to participation in the effort to put Merriam in power in Chicago is but a step; and from this to Roosevelt and Armageddon another. One joined Roosevelt progressivism on confession of faith and acceptance of the creed. The Progressive movement died with throes some of which Richberg reveals in new light, and particularly the transition to Wilsonian progressivism and the utilization of some of the elements of the former by the latter form of "progress-

sivism." Roosevelt progressivism had demanded that those in power be good; progressivism of a later brand "will demand some radical changes in government to correspond with radical changes in habits, customs and beliefs that came into the lives of the people during the period from the end of the Civil War to the end of the World War."

After the war came a great hour of freedom from moral responsibility; materialism became the dominant political philosophy and propaganda the outstanding method of social control. In this period Richberg was engaged in the lawsuit of the Peoples Gas Light and Coke Company against the City of Chicago and reveals the espionage, wire pulling, manipulation of courts and even threats of violence as used by the utility group headed by Insull. He fought through the railroad valuation case before the Interstate Commerce Commission and the U. S. Supreme Court, and helped to formulate the federal law for the settlement of railway labor disputes. He concludes from his experiences that the law is what the judges declare, and against the autocratic control of industry only one effective opposition has been developed and maintained—the unions of wage earners.

One note runs through the tale: we have proceeded in our national life, even the "progressive" leaders, without much idea of where we are going; there has been little guidance based on understanding of facts. Hope lies in those who know; "politicians may yet be forced by public opinion to seek the guidance of men who are able to get the facts and are determined to declare them."

LEROY E. BOWMAN.

Columbia University.

"THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE ANCIENT WORLD." By Gules Toutain. Foreword by Henri Berr. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929. 361 pp. \$5.00.

This study by M. Toutain of the Sorbonne is one of the most important volumes in the French series "L'Evolution de l'Humanite" and a worthy addition to the valuable series, The History of Civilization, published by Knopf under the editorship of C. K. Ogden and Harry Elmer Barnes. The format, type, and arrangement are very pleasing to the eye. While a unit in itself M. Toutain's work is a continuation of the excellent studies by Delaporte, Glotz, etc., of Mesopotamian, Aegean and Egyptian civilization.

The book is divided into four sections: I, The Economic Life of Greece and Greek Lands to the Expedition of Alexander; II, The Economic Life of the Hellenistic World; III, The Economic Life of the Western Mediterranean and the Neighbouring Regions to the Establishment of the Roman Empire under Augustus; IV, The Economic Life of the Ancient World under the Roman Empire. To this is added a chapter on the economic downfall of the ancient world. There is an extensive bibliography and an index. There are six explanatory maps.

M. Toutain's ambition is not to substantiate "any abstract theories, evolved *a priori*," but "to draw up, so far as it is possible today, a balance-sheet of the economic life of antiquity." Hence he stresses the use of "hard, definite facts, with reference to their place and date as far as possible" and shies away from "reasoning . . . based on comparisons." Literary and documentary sources, codes and inscriptions, papyri, coins, remnants of antiquity (e.g. mines, harbors, quarries, etc.) therefore, form the bases of his presentation.

In a brief review one can touch upon only a few points in a volume dealing with the continuous process whereby Mediterranean life arrived at unity and concentration as the result of a "progres-

sive reduction of local autonomies and differences." The author apparently does not fall in line with the present tendency to reduce the emphasis upon slavery as the cornerstone of Greek economic life. In the foreword M. Berr restates his thesis that slavery, through supplying an easy solution for technical problems, explains why there was so little technical progress in classic times.

While agricultural methods, organization, etc., are treated, little attention is given to the genesis of the *latifundia* or of the *colonus*. On the whole, agricultural apparatus and methods did not change very much during the period under survey. Industrial change was confined to increasing specialization, to a multiplication of workshops, and to an extension of the market area. Nevertheless in Roman times we find a highly organized and unified commerce and an economic life dominated by a kind of capitalism that originated in military spoils.

In this volume M. Toutain deals only with the economic aspects of the Sphynxian riddle (if there is a riddle at all) of why the ancient world declined. Even though we question whether there was such a general decline, it is obvious that Italian economic life suffered an atavistic reversion. Among the causes of the decay of prosperity, symptoms of which appeared in the second century, the author stresses the onslaughts of the barbarian hordes; domestic anarchy, and the wars of pretenders to the throne, both of which sowed ruin and precipitated insurrection; the persecution of the Christian religion in the third century; the restriction of private initiative through the establishment of the *colonnate*, the binding of the *Curiales*, the controlling of the guilds, and the fixing of prices, all in an effort to promote production and assure taxes. Essentially, however, the economic de-

cline grew out of insecurity and the destruction of private initiative. "The conditions required for the expansion and productivity of human labour in all its forms had disappeared at the end of the second century." When the barbarians came the Roman lemon had been practically squeezed, for "the Imperial government had neither succeeded in removing the causes of the evil nor seen that excessive and despotic interference by the State was powerless to prevent the consequences."

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TRENDS IN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY. Edited by George A. Lundberg, Read Bain, and Nels Anderson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929. xii + 443 pp. \$3.00.

To the bookshelf already occupied by symposia edited by Barnes, Hayes, Ogburn and Goldenweiser, and Gee of Virginia the sociologist will wish to add this new volume. Its outstanding claims to difference are first that it is executed by the younger group, and second it is frankly devoted to "American sociology." Moreover, the space devoted to rural, urban, educational, and applied sociology will be found new in such books.

If one expects, however, to encounter here a youth movement leading to the left he will be disappointed. The devotion to the benevolent figure of Cooley is both striking and reassuring. Our authors are mildly critical of accepted theories, but radical doctrine consists of new doctrine and little of this is to be found. Much sociological rubbish is re-consigned to the fire, but our attention is called to no hitherto unheralded monographs or unaccepted theories. For all this volume suggests, the trend of sociology will continue pretty much as in the past. In fact it may be objected that we have here a cross section rather than a history and prospectus. Moreover, as one re-

viewer has suggested, overlapping and duplication finally leads one to doubt if sociology can be neatly and clearly divided into compartments even for purposes of a symposium.

Markey, however, shows the courage of youth in dwelling mainly upon controversial points in social psychology, while Zimmerman, hardly daring with objectors tugging at his coat-tails, would like to deny many of the dogmas of rural sociology. Kulp has little difficulty in demonstrating the poverty of educational sociology. Dorothy Gary in an excellent chapter leaves one with the feeling that

she regards economic determinism as synonymous with cultural anthropology. Anderson summing up urban sociology follows in the main his text. Lundberg on social research and Bain on contemporary theory have presented able treatments. In wealth of content, new material with an unhackneyed treatment, Jessie Bernard's history and prospects of sociology carries off the palm of the volume. But comparisons are odious, and anyone interested in contemporary sociology will read for himself.

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